ECHOES OF ARCADIA: THE *AEMULUS* IN VERGIL'S *ECLOGUES*

by

MARY LOUISE BROWN

(Under the Direction of Andres Matlock)

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores emulation and poetic inheritance in Vergil's *Eclogues*. Emulation is the vehicle for poetic inheritance, as the new poet imitates the master in order to grow into maturity. I read these ideas in dialogue with Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil shows the cycle of poetic maturity: the ephebe poet first learns to imitate the master precursor, then the ephebe learns to curate models and finally matures into confidence where he too can be imitated as a model. explore this thesis in three parts, examining the steps in the process of poetic maturity. First, I will examine Vergil's ephebic relationship with Callimachus as a dialogue from poet to poet, then Vergil as a curator, working with a larger conversation of Hellenistic scholars, and finally will analyze how Vergil displays his authorial journey to confidence.

INDEX WORDS: Vergil, *Eclogues*, Callimachus, Intertextuality, Pastoral, Theocritus, Scholia, Emulation, Classics, Poetics, Models

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DEDICATION

Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In my thesis, I explore emulation and poetic inheritance in Vergil's *Eclogues*. The controlling question of this project is to determine how the *Eclogues* creates its relationship with important models and sources in the poetic tradition. Poetic inheritance begins with imitation of the precursor poet, transitions to fluency, and is fulfilled when the fledgling poet stands apart as a master. This thesis will look at how Vergil displays this development in the *Eclogues*. Specifically, I will examine how Vergil interacts with the Alexandrian tradition and what his relationship is to the Hellenistic poets. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil's poetry dialogues with its Hellenistic model poets in his foray into erudite poetry. Vergil shows full mastery of these Hellenistic models. However, after showing an understanding of these *aemuli*, Vergil's own poetic program comes to stand as a worthy contender in the arena of Alexandrian poetics. Through this development, Vergil's *Eclogues* transform pastoral poetry, a once highly specific genre, into a carnival of genres, reflecting the prism of models which he follows.

The *Eclogues* provides a metaliterary model of how a new poet grows into his skill. Harold Bloom works through this process of poetic inheritance in *The Anxiety of Influence*. In an analysis of Romantic poetry, Bloom looks at models of reception and the

relationship of the author to their influences. In an exposition of poetic history, Bloom argues: "strong poets make that history by misreading one another, so as to clear imaginative space for themselves."[1] Each potential relationship which Bloom presents is attended by an anxiety about the new poet's place in the canon. Bloom explains: "Weaker talents idealize: figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves. But nothing is got for nothing and self-appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness, for what strong maker desires the realization that he has failed to create himself?"[2] This anxiety of influence creates tension in the poetic process, as imitation of a great model teaches the ephebe how to be a poet. This idea is the very substance of ancient poetics. Bloom characterizes modern anxieties of influence as particular to the modern era, describing ancient poetic inheritance thus: "yet there was a great age before the Flood, when influence was generous (or poets in their inmost natures thought it so), an age that goes all the way from Homer to Shakespeare."[3] Brian Arkins discusses how Bloom's theoretical framework is still helpful for interrogating questions of ancient poetic influence, particularly for the Roman reception of Hellenistic poetry. Ancient as well as modern poets show anxiety about being wholly derivative.[4] Arkins finds both the

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[1] See Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, 5.
[2] Ibid, 5.
[3] Ibid, 122.
[4] See Brian Arkins, "The Freedom of Influence: Callimachus and Latin Poetry." *Latomus* 47, no. 2 (1988): Arkins reminds the reader that "Hellenistic poets like Callimachus regarded Homer as, literally, inimitable and were precisely, *anxious not to produce fifth-rate imitations of Homer.* Consequently Callimachus and others concentrated either on short poems like epigrams or hymns, or on episodic, long poems like the *Aitia*. Long, continuous poems on Battles and kings were out because Homer had once and for all written

idea of anxiety of influence and Bloom's generous influence, which Arkins terms "freedom of influence" present in the Hellenistic poets and their descendants.[5] He speaks to the productivity of influence, especially for the relationship of Callimachus to the Roman poets. "Here we are very clearly talking about the *freedom of influence*: what Callimachus offered was a poetic theory and practice which provided a congenial framework for Latin poets to work within *and simultaneously allowed them to develop their own individual talents.*"[6] Arkins follows the examples of Catullus and Propertius to observe how this relationship of poetic inheritance plays out. I follow this line of interrogation as well, but focusing on Vergil's *Eclogues*. Influence provides a doorway for the new poet to step into the world of poetics.

Bloom sees poetic influence as always a struggle between the ephebe and the precursor, an image of oedipal conflict. He summarizes his subject: "Battle between strong equals, father and son as mighty opposites, Laius and Oedipus at the crossroads; only this is my subject here, though some of the fathers, as will be seen, are composite figures."[7] But Bloom's focus on the father relationship is too limited for thinking about ancient influence and its anxieties. In the *Eclogues* there are a variety of modeled

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the definitive poems of that type and simply could not be emulated. Which was not to say that Hellenistic poems did not subtly adapt and allude to Homer – of course they did – but a head-on engagement was avoided and the adaptation/allusion process was their stratagem for dealing with their anxieties."

[5] Ibid, 285.

[6] Ibid, 286.

[7] See Bloom, 11.

relationships by means of which Vergil meditates upon influence. As the starting place of influential relationships, I offer the maternal model of influence, an idea which has roots in ancient poetry. Emily Hauser discusses how female poets negotiate a space in the poetic canon.[8] Because of limited language in a male-dominated poetic area, women had to appropriate terms of motherhood into the agonistic poetic vocabulary.[9] Male poets, such as Aristophanes and Euripides, adopt this language of mothering to describe themselves as well.[10] Hauser argues that Sappho uses metaphors of motherhood so much in reference to the poetic tradition that she ultimately conflates the terms of poet and mother.[11] Indeed, *Eclogue* 8 seems to gesture directly to this discourse when it poses a riddle in dialogue with this question of poetic influence. Damon sings about a cruel mother:

> *saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem*
> *commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater.*

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[8] See Emily Hauser, "Mother Sappho: Creating Women Poets," in *How Women Became Poets: A Gender History of Greek Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023, 231-257.

[9] Hauser explains how this process dramatically shifts the usual description of poetic inspiration: "The creativity and generativity of the - mother, in giving birth to her- daughter, echoes the female poet's creativity. This radically rewrites the relationship between the male poet and female Muse, who, as we saw in both Hesiod and Aristophanes, is commonly sexualized by male poets, turning the male poet–-female Muse interaction into an erotically charged assault whereby the male poet "begets" his song on the female Muse. - Here, rather than birthing song on the Muse, Sappho's relationship with her - daughter acts as a metaphor for her own poetic creativity" (Hauser, 242).

[10] Hauser notes some important examples: We have already seen how Aristophanes figured himself in the Clouds as a parthenos who could not (or should not) give birth, who has to expose his 'child' to be brought up by others (530–32). Meanwhile, Euripides has a poet 'giving birth to songs' (Supp. 180) and 'craftsmen who have given birth to a song' (Andr. 476); and Aristophanes figures Aeschylus's mind 'giving birth to words' (Ran. 1059)" (Hauser, 250).

[11] Ibid, 250.

> *crudelis mater magis an puer improbus ille?*
> *improbus ille puer. crudelis tu quoque, mater.*
>
> "Savage Love taught the mother to stain her hands with the blood of her children: you too are cruel, mother. Was the mother or the shameless boy more cruel? It was that wicked boy. But you too are cruel, mother" (Vergil, *Eclogues*, 8.47-50).[12]

Ostensibly, this quatrain refers to the story of Medea, not mentioning her by name, but the content of the first sentence is easily recognizable. However, I do not think *crudelis tu quoque* is only addressed to Medea. Vergil seems to be recalling another in this direct address: an abstract personification of his poetic influence. This quatrain represents a microcosm of poetic influence. First, Vergil primes the audience with the use of *docuit*, a verb of teaching, which should signal a relationship of handing down knowledge. Then, Vergil elegantly alludes to the story of Medea as a model before transforming the situation into a set-up for a statement about his own poetics. *Improbus* is used only once in the *Eclogues*. I read this word as having an ephebic resonance in connection with *puer*, calling us back to Hesiod's arch use of νήπιος, (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 286). Hesiod acts as a teacher, addressing the ephebe in a manner fitting to the didactic genre. Vergil chooses the attribute of *crudelis* to characterize the mother. When the mother and the ephebe are set in competition to each other, the ephebe is measured against her based on how well he instantiates her quality of *crudelis*. Vergil says that the son wins this competition, even though this attribute belonged to the mother originally. I suggest that Vergil is setting up this comparison as a metaliterary way to judge the poet's relationship to his precursor.

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[12] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

Vergil's standards for judgement of poetics meet the horizon of expectations of the ancient world. The good poet imitates the precursor in order to instantiate himself as a poet. The poetess Nossis writes an important epigram dealing with this issue of poetic influence:

> Αὐτομέλιννα τέτυκται· ἴδ᾽ ὡς ἀγανὸν τὸ πρόσωπον
> ἁμὲ ποτοπτάζειν μειλιχίως δοκέει·
> ὡς ἐτύμως θυγάτηρ τᾷ ματέρι πάντα ποτῴκει.1
> ἦ καλὸν ὄκκα πέλῃ τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα.
>
> "It is Melinna herself. See how her sweet face seems to look kindly at me. How truly the daughter resembles her mother in everything! It is surely a lovely thing when children are like their parents" (*Anth. Pal.* 6.353).[13]

This epigram describes a piece of artwork depicting Melinna, and the praise for it is both literal regarding the craftsmanship, and metaliterary commenting on the influence of an artist to the work.[14] Nossis' epigram provides a window into the process of poetic mothering. The precursor is a model for the poet to grow into, and seeing family resemblance in poetics is a thing to celebrate. The ancient poets seek to embody the quality of the precursor, which can be varied, such as *crudelis* or μειλιχίως. The important part of the process is to create a visible family resemblance. I read Vergil in dialogue with this idea, as he chooses to make resemblance to the mother a key point in arbitration of the ephebe's poetic prowess.

In the world of the *Eclogues*, the success of a poet lies in how well the precursor's poetry is imitated and then assimilated. Within the *Eclogues*, Vergil tries on many relationships with his models. And, all these models participate in some degree of

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[13] Trans. Loeb.
[14] See Hauser, 248-249.

nurture and care, as even the cruel mother provides a pattern for the son to follow. Vergil constructs these images of his relationship to his models so that the reader may observe the course of poetic maturation. The new poet first learns to imitate the precursor, then he learns to curate models and finally matures into confidence where he too can be imitated as a model. This thesis is in three parts, examining each of the steps in the process of poetic maturity. First I will examine Vergil's imitative relationship with Callimachus as a dialogue from poet to poet, then Vergil as a curator, working with a larger conversation of Hellenistic scholars, and finally will analyze how Vergil displays his authorial journey to confidence.

In the first chapter, I will examine how Vergil constructs an emulative relationship with Hellenistic poetry.[15] Vergil shows his inheritance of Hellenistic poetics by weaving in significant Callimachean intertext as a sort of textual DNA. In order to better understand this imitative relationship, I will analyze the direct intertextual conversation between the corpus of the *Eclogues* to the poetry of Callimachus, specifically through the character of Amyntas who appears in *Eclogues* 2, 3, 5, & 10. I choose Amyntas as a case-study since his character is limited enough to suit the scope of my project and also because he has been largely neglected by scholars. Amyntas appears very differently in each *Eclogue*, and as such his character presents immediate difficulty to analyze. Because of the inconsistency of this portrayal, Amyntas is often read as a stock character stand-in. In John Van Sickle's catalogue of the characters of the

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[15] Vergil overtly handles many Hellenistic precursors, most famously Theocritus. For examples of this scholarship, see Wendell Clausen, *Commentary on Virgil's Eclogues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994 and Charles Segal, *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral : Essays on Theocritus and Virgil*. Princeton Series of Collected Essays. Princeton University Press, 1981.

Eclogues, he says that Amyntas, "has been used for the generic types of feckless competitor (ii 35,39) and boy love (iii 66, 74, 84).[16] Through my reading, I will show how Vergil's varied characterization of Amyntas actually strongly links him with Callimachean poetics. In each *Eclogue* where Amyntas is present, Vergil threads through a different generic aspect in his characterization, highlighting the adaptability of Callimacheanism. Amyntas oscillates between the rival and the lover, just as Callimachus does in his poetry. Vergil experiments with these two relationships as models of poetic influence. In each of these relationships, Vergil takes what he has learned and assimilates it into an expansion of genre. I read Amyntas as representative of the poetics of Callimachus, providing a model for poetic assimilation and belonging.

For the second chapter, I will examine how Vergil treats the conversation of poetic reception including not simply poetry, but also literary scholarship. I will follow the example of Joseph Farrell's "Ancient Commentaries on Theocritus' *Idylls* and Vergil's *Eclogues,*" and look into the scholia on Theocritus. Farrell posits that Vergil is responding primarily to the scholiasts of Theocritus to focus his reception. Vergil balances an outward focus on Theocritean reception with a more oblique relationship with the Theocritean scholars. Vergil uses the feedback of the scholiasts in his reception choices, demonstrating scholarly mastery as well as poetic. Vergil shows his process of development as a poet by demonstrating his ability to curate selections from a multiplicity of models. Indeed, the titular substance of the *Eclogues* is *Selections*. The scholiastic dialogue provides a space to analyze these selections, but by nature this space is also critical and competitive. In this chapter, I analyze Vergil's method of reception in

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[16] See John Van Sickle, *The Design of Virgil's Bucolics.* Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, & Bizzari, 1978, 139.

Eclogue 3 which is centered around the idea of poetic succession. Vergil grafts himself into poetic inheritance of the genre of pastoral. Vergil receives this genre in a state of poetic stagnation, being only an object of analysis for the scholiasts.[17] I offer the model of the stepmother to describe the relationship of scholarship to poetry. In antiquity, the trope of the stepmother represents antagonism along with some level of care. For pastoral, the scholars fit this model as they are critical, while still providing a space for dialogue about bucolics to stay alive. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil revives an orphaned genre, attending to both poetic mothers and stepmothers in his method of reception.

In the final chapter, I will examine how Vergil portrays the cycle of authorial maturity in the *Eclogues* as the substance of his poetic program. In this chapter, I dialogue with the theoretical framework of Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*, looking at Vergil's representation of himself as the fully-fledged poet. Vergil offers himself as a model of the artistic journey, first imitating, then curating from multiple models, and finally standing confident in poetic maturity, where he himself can be a model. As a case-study, I follow the character of Menalcas, who is a metaliterary representative of Vergil's establishment in the canon as a master poet. Menalcas shows the different stages of poetic maturity, starting out as an ephebe, moving into curatorship, and finally stepping into maturity where he is used as a model. In this chapter, I focus on the Bloomian relationship of "Apophrades," which happens when a new poet imitates a precursor so well that it seems as though the precursor is the imitator.[18] Bloom sees a consistently antagonistic relationship between the poet and his precursor father. In the paternal relationship of influence, the new poet must fit a pattern to be part of the

[17] Ibid, 101.
[18] See Bloom, 16-17.

precursor's poetic lineage. A paternal relationship is presumed even in the root meaning of the term "pattern." The new poet must then break the pattern in some way in order to establish himself as a distinct person. As a softening of this poetic antagonism, I offer instead the ancient model of the mother precursor. Poets receive material from the precursor and absorb it into new poetic creation.[19] A maternal poetic model affords the new poet greater freedom of influence. After having absorbed influence from his precursors, Vergil stands in full maturity when he imitates himself as a model. The relationships presented in the text of the *Eclogues* are more varied and dynamic than simply paranoid son to father, which is represented through various modeled relationships in the text.

Before stepping into this analysis, the question remains still open of whether the herdsmen with the same names in the *Eclogues* are actually intended to be the same characters. I follow Brian Breed's assessment of Vergil's intent to have each read together with each context in which he appears.[20] Breed cites the example of *Eclogue* 5, where Menalcas quotes *Eclogues* 2 and 3, showing both awareness of the events and the literature. The specific characterization in each instantiation of the herdsman is more nuanced than a single sustained objective all the way through the *Eclogues*, however the linkage of content and context presents a unified image to be analyzed as a whole. Vergil intentionally crafts the characters to change throughout the collection in order to represent different stages of poetic maturity. These changes do not always happen in a

[19] It is also important to note that the word "material" has a maternal root meaning.
[20] See Brian Breed, *Pastoral Inscriptions*, London: Duckworth, 2006, 68-9.

linear progression, which makes the setting of the Eclogues have a dreamlike, almost random quality. However, this almost inscrutable variety of characterization reminds the audience that Vergil is fully in control of the ever-shifting prism of influences which he assimilates in this collection.

CHAPTER 2

AMYNTAS: CALLIMACHEAN IMITATION

In this chapter, I will examine how the *Eclogues* construct an emulative relationship with Callimachus. Vergil frames this relationship as one of conscious imitation in order to instantiate a new style of poetics. Vergil shows off his mastery of Callimachean poetics by weaving in significant intertexts, almost like textual DNA. In order to better understand this process, I will analyze the direct intertextual relationship of the corpus of the *Eclogues* to the poetry of Callimachus, specifically through the character of Amyntas who is spoken of in *Eclogues* 2, 3, 5, & 10. I choose Amyntas as a case-study since he has not been sufficiently systematically studied. Through my reading of Amyntas, I will show how Vergil uses the poetics of Callimachus as a structure for belonging. For this reading I will look at Vergil's use of *fuscus* as a description of Amyntas as the locus of the transfusion of poetics. *Fuscus* has both literal and rhetorical resonance, which are both crucial to Vergil's characterization of Amyntas. I propose that Vergil is using *fuscus* as a layered metaliterary term, interrogating both a sense of identity and also generic boundaries. Amyntas shows up as a generic everyman, changing in each scenario in which he shows up. Amyntas is portrayed as both a polemic and an amatory character, first at odds with the situation of the *Eclogues*, but then later assimilated into the genre. While the characterization of Amyntas differs markedly in each *Eclogue* in which he appears, there is a consistent thread of Callimachean aesthetics.

In each *Eclogue* where Amyntas is present, Vergil threads through a different generic aspect in his characterization.

The name Amyntas comes from Theocritus' *Idyll* 7. This name has Macedonian origins, as Amyntas I was an ancestor of Ptolemy, which may be a factor in Theocritus' choice of a name.[21] Theocritus places Amyntas in the party of men traveling from the city, σὺν καὶ τρίτος ἁμὶν ᾽Αμύντας: "and Amyntas was the third with us" (Theocritus, *Idylls*, 7.2). Outside of this brief mention, he plays no real role in the dialogue. Simichidas does mention Amyntas another time, saying, χὠ καλὸς ᾽Αμύντιχος, "and beautiful Amyntas," (Theocritus, 7.132). Simichidas uses a slightly diminutive form of a nickname, and says that Amyntas is pretty. Both of these manners of address together, according to Clausen, indicate that Amyntas is homosexual.[22] Charles Segal suggests that Amyntas is likely a man from the city, so he does not belong to the bucolic landscape proper.[23] Since this character is so minor for Theocritus, Vergil has much license to expand on Amyntas' role. There are no real audience expectations for how Amyntas might act, so Vergil capitalizes on this opportunity to turn him into a generic everyman.

Since Amyntas is a Theocritean name, the audience might expect that Vergil is setting up a study of Theocritus through this character. However, this expectation is subverted in favor of a Callimachean connection. It is worth noting that Vergil chooses this name from *Idyll* 7, which is where Theocritus most clearly addresses Alexandrian poetic quarreling in the debate of Lycidas and Simichidas. Segal explains that in this exchange Lycidas advocates a bucolic program and Simichias supports a heroic

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[21] See Van Sickle, 139.
[22] See Clausen, 108.
[23] See Segal, 151.

program.[24] These two actors seem to be figurative for the tension between Callimachus and Apollonius, with Lycidas taking Callimachus' side and Simichidas representing Apollonius'.[25] In this *Idyll*, Theocritus seems to suggest that the Callimachean style of poetics has more to do with the bucolic mode of poetry, even though bucolics share the meter of heroic epic. Vergil, also working in hexameters in the *Eclogues*, seeks to assume the principles of Callimacheanism, which are usually claimed as the property of the elegists. My reading of Vergil shows that works do not need to be in the elegiac meter to be small and elegant, reminding the audience that Callimachus himself uses hexameters too.[26]

Beginning at the end, *Eclogue* 10 offers a window into the puzzle of Amyntas' characterization. At the center of *Eclogue* 10, Gallus says, *quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas? / et nigrae violae sunt et vaccina nigra,* "what then, if Amyntas is dark? Both the violets and the blueberries are dark," (Vergil, 10.38-9). Vergil overtly models this couplet on the Hellenistic poets. Clausen notes that this couplet is a conflation of Asclepiades (5.3-4), Theocritus (10.28), and Longus (1.16.4).[27] However, the meaning of *fuscus* in this context is somewhat obscure. *Fuscus* can refer to a dark color, or it can also refer to an unclear or hoarse voice, or even to a sense of unluckiness; it generally has an opposite meaning to *candidus*.[28] I read Vergil's use of *fuscus* as encompassing both a literal meaning of color and the rhetorical meaning as well. In order to interpret this couplet, I

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[24] Ibid, 155.
[25] Ibid, 168.
[26] See John Henkel, "Elegy and Metapoetic Polemic in Vergil's First Eclogue." *Vergil and Elegy*, ed. Alison Keith and Micah Myers, vol. 60, University of Toronto Press, 2023, 28. Henkel explains that Vergil embraces Callimacheanism, but is also a defender of hexameter.
[27] See Clausen, 303.
[28] Cf. Cic. N. D. 2, 58, 146. See Lewis and Short for more examples.

propose to look at Callimachus as an interpretive guide for Amyntas. Callimachus challenges the boundaries of poetics, both by expanding Greek identity, and also generic expectations. Callimachus is an African poet, from Cyrene, later writing in Alexandria, who is writing in a time shortly after Alexander founded this new city center. With the birth of this city, the Alexandrians seek to graft themselves into Greek identity, which is negotiated by geography, lineage and tradition. However, since the poets are often the chief guardians of this information, Callimachus participates in creating heritage for the people of Hellenistic North Africa.[29] With his corpus, Callimachus expands the boundaries of the Greek tradition, decentralizing Greece from the mainland. Opening up the boundaries of Greece affords Callimachus the opportunity to consider what Greece now means for the literary tradition. Callimachus explores the idea of belonging to a motherland by this expansion. I choose the term motherland as one that is by nature expansive and nurturing. Vergil is similar to Callimachus since he too is seeking a place in the Greek tradition, but his political context is Roman in a newly negotiated empire. Vergil expands the pastoral landscape to blend Italy and Greece. In *Eclogue* 10, this is particularly apparent as the Italian poets take up residence in Arcadia as the seat of pastoral poetics.

In *Eclogue* 10, Vergil fundamentally revises the bucolic landscape. The poem begins by mentioning the nymph Arethusa, who fled from Arcadia to Sicily, but Vergil appears to be positioning his narrative before her flight.[30] Vergil settles his bucolic collection on the land of Arcadia, a departure from the Theocritean setting of Sicily. In

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[29] See Benjamin Acosta-Hughes and Susan Stephens, *Callimachus in Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 148-149.
[30] See Van Sickle, 190.

constructing this setting, Vergil gives an image of Arcadia as the ultimate location of poetic skill.[31] Notably, Callimachus first supports Arcadia as alternative birthplace of Zeus, as he says, Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσί φασι γενέσθαι, / Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο; / 'Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται' … ἐν δέ σε Παρρασίῃ Ῥείη τέκεν… "Some say, O Zeus, that you were born on the mountains of Ida, and Zeus, others say in Arcadia; father, which group is lying? 'Cretans are always liars,' … but in Parrasia, Rhea bore you…" (Callimachus, *Hymns*, 1.6-10). Callimachus too is interested in geographic relocation.[32] This interest makes sense as Callimachus is seeking a place in the Greek canon but is operating from Alexandria in Ptolemaic Egypt. Acosta-Hughes suggests that this preference for Arcadia may have personal significance as Callimachus seeking to graft his own city of origin, Cyrene, into the Greek canon by association.[33] However, Callimachus does not neglect Crete, joining it to his account of Zeus's birth. Callimachus tells his audience that Zeus' umbilical cord fell off in Crete (Callimachus, 1.42-5). This choice is a departure from the location of the ὀμφαλός stone at Delphi, traditionally representing the center of the world. Acosta-Hughes notes that the new Cretan location is roughly half-way between Delphi and Callimachus' cities of Cyrene and Alexandria, reframing the center of the world where more people can claim

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[31] Ibid, 193.

[32] See Acosta-Hughes, 153. In the *Hymn to Delos* Apollo's birthplace is also relocated south.

[33] Ibid, 150. Acosta-Hughes explains, "The importance of Arcadia for Cyrene may be inferred from one of the names that Callimachus employs: 'Apidanees.' Apollonius of Rhodes tells us that the Apidaneans were the Arcadians who lived before the moon, and the scholiast on this passage in Apollonius etymologizes the name as from Apis, the son of Phoroneus, who was in tun the son of Inachus. The name Apidanees, therefore, not only conveys antiquity, but it encapsulates an ancestral relationship: the Inachid line produced Io, her son, Epaphus, and his descendents Libya, Danaus, and Aegyptus on the one hand, and Cadmus and Oedipus on the other. The former were significant for the Ptolomies, the Latter Callimachus in his *Hymn to Apollo*, claims as ancestors of Cyrene."

belonging to Greek identity. Vergil is essentially performing a Callimachean operation by grafting his Latin pastoral collection into the Greek poetic tradition.

Amyntas has some interpretive light to cast on this issue of belonging, connecting the *Eclogues* to Callimachean poetics. Van Sickle observes that Amyntas, who appears at the very middle of *Eclogue* 2 returns to this position "as an expanded center (x 35-43), the ethical, so to speak, *interpretatio* of the Arcadian poetic ideal: first an ideal order of work, recalling the frame, but not the central etiology of the second piece."[34] Amyntas enters the scene in *Eclogue* 2 as a bitter competitor, but ends the collection refashioned into an object of love. Here at the center is Menalcas' description of *fuscus*. I read this description in conversation with Callimachus' use of dark and light imagery. Callimachus uses these terms sparingly, but a few instances are built together towards his theme of Greek expansion. Callimachus narrates that when Artemis selects her companions, she went to Λευκὸν ἔπι Κρηταῖον ὄρος, "the white mountain of Crete," (Callimachus, 3.41). Recalling that Crete and Arcadia are juxtaposed in the *Hymn to Zeus*, the white mountain may have an opposing sense here as well. Artemis then travels to Arcadia to meet Pan and he gives her hunting dogs. Callimachus describes the gift of these dogs: δύο μὲν κύνας ἥμισυ πηγούς, / τρεῖς δὲ παρουαίους, ἕνα δ' αἰόλον, "first two dogs half white, then three with hanging ears, then one speckled," (Callimachus, 3.90-91). The contrasting darkness of the dogs comes in at the moment of being in Arcadia. Callimachus paints another moment of dark and light imagery, saying that the deer αἰὲν ἐβουκολέοντο μελαμψήφιδος Ἀναύρου, / μάσσονες ἢ ταῦροι, κεράων δ' ἀπελάμπετο χρυσός· "always were pasturing at the black-pebbled Anauris, greater than

[34] See Van Sickle, 193-4.

bulls, and the gold of their horns was shining," (Callimachus, 3.101-2). The Anauris is important, as it is in Arcadia, but it also shows up in the *Hymn to Delos*, where it flees Leto for fear of Hera (Callimachus, 4.103).[35] Most of Leto's journey in the *Hymn to Delos* is one of frustrated belonging, until she finds Delos, which is not quite yet a real place to belong to, as the island floats in the sea before it is grounded in a permanent place. The *Eclogues* too float around until receiving a home in Vergil's Arcadia. I suggest that Vergil is using *fuscus* as a metaliterary term, meant to tease the reader into looking deeper into these connections to Callimachus.

While *fuscus* certainly has the more literal sense of color, I propose that Vergil is also inviting the reader to think about the rhetorical meaning of obscurity, or unclarity as well. The *Eclogues* are a study in form, which pairs nicely with Callimachean poetics. Throughout *Eclogue* 10, Callimachus plays an important role, not just relating to Amyntas. Vergil uses the lament of Gallus to recast elegy into a pastoral register. It is well established that Gallus is using Callimachean poetics, as reflected in his mistress' name Lycoris, which derives from a cult title of Apollo first attested in Callimachus.[36] Vergil also has Gallus participate in the motif of inscription into a tree, reminding the audience again of Acontius and Cydippe, so Callimachean imagery is important throughout this poem.[37] Vergil transforms the form of erotic poetry, by using the substance but recasting the form into bucolic hexameters. This expansion of form is highly Callimachean, as Callimachus himself was criticized for mixing genre in his

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[35] This same adjective describes the Ismenus river in the *Hymn to Delos* (Callimachus, 4.76).
[36] See Clausen, 294. In *Hymn* 2.18-19, Callimachus celebreates Apollo as Φοῖβος Λὔκωρεύς.
[37] See Breed, 132.

poetry.[38] As a miniature case-study in Callimachean poetics, Amyntas takes on varied roles within the different *Eclogues*. His persona changes radically between the *Eclogues* so that not much can be said of him beyond generic roles. Vergil paints Amyntas with sometimes exclusive polemic or amatory qualities, and sometimes both together. To understand this character, all things must be viewed together in order to see how Amyntas changes with the evolution of the *Eclogues*. After having established this hypothesis, I will apply this hypothesis to Amyntas in the rest of the *Eclogues* in which he appears.

In *Eclogue* 2, Corydon introduces Amyntas with an acknowledgement of his poetic skill, *Nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum: / haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas?* "Nor would it disgust you to wear out your lip with [playing] the reed: to be skilled in these same things, what wasn't Amyntas doing?" (Vergil, *Eclogues*, 2.34-5). *Trivisse* is an odd choice to describe playing an instrument, which should pique the audience's attention. The base meaning of the word is to rub away, which can extend into more specialized meanings, like chafing or sharpening, or polishing. This type of polishing can often have a highly stylized poetic sense, so this word seems to beg for more attention.[39] The instrument of the *calamus* is a traditional bucolic instrument; it does not stand out in a jarring way, like the *avena* of *Eclogue* 1, but rather fits in with poetic expectations.[40] Amyntas is connected with skill in the venue of bucolic song.

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[38] See Acosta-Hughes, 54. Callimachus is criticized by Hipponax for mixing genres and dialects. Callimachus did respond to this critique in the *Iambi*, however, we have lost this response, so there is no way of knowing whether Callimachus courted this critique or defended against it.

[39] Cf. Catullus 1.2.

[40] See John Van Sickle, "Virgil *Bucolics* 1.1–2 and Interpretive Tradition: A Latin (Roman) Program for a Greek Genre." *Classical Philology* 99, no. 4 (2004): 336–53. Van Sickle describes the range of specification in the meaning, "The sturdy Κάλαμος lends itself to practical applications, producing a wide array of metonymies that reflect actual utilizability. For example, Κάλαμος can refer by metonymy to a

Because of both the zeal and also the key poetic words of description, Amyntas seems to be exhibiting the proper traits of a master-singer of the pastoral world.

However, this respectful description of Amyntas is problematized with Corydon's next mention of him. Corydon tells of his own poetic inheritance from Damoetas, and *invidit stultus Amyntas*, "silly Amyntas envies," (Vergil, 2.39). This characterization of Amyntas as *stultus* seems abrupt and out of place. This seems to serve as a way to put the poetic authority of Damoetas and Amyntas in contrast to each other. However, the term *stultus* still seems harsh. Recalling Hesiod's *Works and Days*, there is precedent for an arch use of an abrasive term. Hesiod advises, σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐσθλὰ νοέων ἐρέω, μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, "And to you, silly Perses, I will tell the lovely things of my thoughts" (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 286). It makes sense for Vergil to invoke a Hesiodic resonance, as the touchstone of pastoral poetry. However, in Latin, *stultus* is a word usually used in prose, and comedy, not often in poetry of this register. There are two important *comparanda* which might elucidate this label of *stultus*.[41] In the only other usage in the *Eclogues*, Vergil himself places *stultus* in the mouth of Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1, saying, *urbam quam dicunt Romam, Meliboee, putavi stultus ego huic nostram similem*, "the city which they call Rome, Meliboeus, I had thought (silly me!) was similar to ours," (Vergil, 1.19-20). Tityrus is a crucial and multi-faceted character in the *Eclogues*.

Exploring how Tityrus is characterized in the other *Eclogues* helps make sense of why Vergil would associate him with Amyntas. In *Eclogue* 6, Tityrus meets Apollo,

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fishing rod, to a stick daubed with lime for catching birds, to an arrow or its shaft, to medical instruments, to a measuring rod, and to a pen for writing with ink, (Van Sickle, 341).

[41] There is only one other instance of this word occurring in Latin poetry besides comedy at Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 3.939. The voice of *Natura* speaks to Lucretius, giving advice in a manner similar to Hesiod.

which is similar to the opening of the *Aetia*.[42] John Henkel argues that this association of Tityrus and Callimacheanism extends also to the poetics of *Eclogue* 1. Tityrus is described as an old man, which is how Callimachus styles himself in the *Reply to the Telchines.*[43] In *Eclogue* 1, Tityrus is first addressed by Meliboeus, saying, *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*… "O Tityrus, you, reclining under the shade of a sprawling beech tree…" (Vergil, 1.1). Henkel points out that the shade and shadows represent poetic influence for Vergil.[44] Tityrus is identified firstly by his sitting under the shadow of the *fagus*, which scholars associate with the φηγοι of Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe.[45] Meliboeus continues in the programmatic description of Tityrus, *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena*: you meditate upon your woodsy Muse with a slender reed," (Vergil, 1.2). While *silvestrum* clearly situates the poem in the register of bucolic, it also suggests the rhetorical term of *silvae*, writing material. *Tenui* and *Musam* are connected in position and call to mind Callimachus' slender muse (Callimachus, *Aetia*, 1.21-24). The oat-reed is also importantly connected to a Callimachean program of poetics.[46] Henkel also sees a connection between the talk of sacrifice at Rome to the sacrifice in the *Aetia*.[47] Taking all of these programmatic markers together, Henkel posits that the conversation between Titryus and Meliboeus is a reframing of the argument in

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[42] See Henkel, 32.
[43] Ibid, 40.
[44] Ibid, 34.
[45] Ibid, 32.
[46] Ibid, 33. Henkel explains, "Despite Vergil's use of *tenuis* elsewhere to adapt the Callimachean program of λεπτότης (e.g., B. 6.8), Van Sickle shows that 'oat' (a*uena)* is a more clearly derogative term for Tityrus' pipes than other pastoral equivalents like c*alamus a*nd h*arundo.* I would argue that this is no casual allusion to Callimachus: taken together, the terms s*iluestris Musa a*nd t*enuis auena a*dapt the most famous moment of Callimachean anti-epic polemic in the 'Reply to the Telechines.'"
[47] Ibid, 35.

the *Reply to the Telchines*.[48] Ancient commentators view this opening interaction between Tityrus and Meliboeus as being representative of Vergil and Gallus respectively.[49] I agree with both interpretations of Tityrus. I think that Vergil means to suggest Callimacheanism through the character of Tityrus, and to also align himself with this program.

The moment of Tityrus mentioning Rome is a key movement in the *Eclogues* of reality intruding on the usual generic escapism of the pastoral (Vergil, 1.19-20). The other poetic *comparandum* of *stultus* is in Catullus 74 describing the situation of an inept matchmaker, *Gallus homo est bellus…Gallus homo est stultus,* "Gallus is an elegant man…Gallus is a foolish man," (Catullus, 74.3-5). The mention of the name Gallus presents an interesting potential identification with the amatory elegist Gallus, who becomes the final protagonist in *Eclogue* 10, pushing the pastoral genre into the realm of elegy. These *comperanda* of *stultus* both look forward and backwards to the beginning and end of the *Eclogues*. Both of these instances of *stultus* point to a situation of generic change. While *stultus* seems jarringly uncomplimentary, the word signals to the audience to think more deeply and consider potential poetic implications of this title to associate with Amyntas.

Returning to *invidit stultus Amyntas*, the action can provide some insight into how Vergil sets up Amyntas (Vergil, 2.39). Envy is an important marker of Callimachean aesthetics, since it shows up as an important actor in the *Hymn to Apollo*. Callimachus narrates that ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ᾽ οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν / ‘οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς

[48] Ibid, 32.
[49] Ibid, 29.

οὐδ᾽ ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει,᾽ “Envy spoke secretly into the ear of Apollo ‘ I do not admire the poet who does not sing as much as the sea.’” (Callimachus, *Hymns*, 2.105-6). This statement from Envy trips one of Callimachus’ most important programmatic statements about good poetry being like the trickling stream as opposed to the large, but polluted Assyrian river (Callimachus, 2.107-112). After this metapoetic outline, Callimachus concludes the *Hymn* saying, ‘χαῖρε ἄναξ: ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵν᾽ ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο,᾽ “‘Hail Lord: but let Censure go to where Envy is,” (Callimachus, 2.113).[50] Envy is clearly tied up in the arbitration of poetics in the Callimachean program. Envy enters the scene when poetry will be arbitrated. Callimachus also makes this clear in the *Reply to the Telchines*, where he says, ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος· αὖθι δὲ τέχνῃ / κρίνετε, μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴ σοφίην, “away with you, destructive race of Jealousy: and judge here according to craft, not the skill of the Persian *schoenus*,” (Callimachus, *Aetia*, 1.17-8).[51] Here Callimachus explicitly connects a personified Jealousy to the judgement of poetics. This idea of jealousy is also connected to Callimachus’ poetic persona. Callimachus describes himself on his father’s epitaph as, ὁ δ᾽ ἤεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης. “And this one sang mightier than jealousy” (Callimachus, *Epigrams*, 21.4). Callimachus highlights βασκανίης from the *Reply to The Telchines* as a core marker of his poetic program. It is highly suggestive that Vergil connects Amyntas with the Callimachean programmatic system of poetic judgement.

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[50] The use of ἄναξ is interesting here as a title of Apollo. According to the LSJ, this word is frequently used for Apollo and other gods, but it is also used as a title for Homeric heroes. The word carries epic connotations.

[51] The *schoenus* was used for measuring lengthy distances. Here Callimachus is drawing a contrast between bloated epics and his smaller style of poetics.

Eclogue 2 explores the tropes and boundaries of elegy. The clownish love song of Polyphemus to Galatea becomes something more serious and tender with Corydon.[52] Henkel suggests that Vergil uses these changes to turn, "intertextuality into a tool of metapoetics by treating certain well-known narratives, like that of Polyphemus in Theocritus *Idyll* 11 or Daphnis in *Idyll* 1, as metaphors for the genre with which they are associated."[53] In *Eclogue* 2, Corydon describes a situation of poetic succession, which is bookended by both mentions of Amyntas: *est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis / fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim, /et dixit moriens: 'Te nunc habet ista secundum,'* "I have a set of pipes, put together with seven uneven reeds, which Damoetas gave to me as a gift, and dying, he said: now these have you as a second owner" (Vergil, 2.36-38). Damoetas giving away the pipes of Pan suggest inheritance of pastoral poetics. However, the uneven composition of the pipes requires further analysis. Clausen suggests that this unequal length of pipes refers to Longus, where Pan constructs his pipe of unequal lengths because his love for Syrinx had not been matched (Longus 2.34.3).[54] The unevenness of the pipes also suggests an unevenness of meter, which identifies elegy. Callimachean poetics are claimed by the neoterics as a seal of elegiac poetry.[55] The Roman elegists, such as Propertius or Ovid, point to a highly debated section of the *Aetia* for this poetic justification:

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[52] See Paul Alpers, *The Singer of the Eclogues,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, 116.

[53] See Henkel, 28-29. Henkel continues to explain the mechanics of how he understands this change to be achieved: "when Vergil's Corydon in B. 2 plays the role of Polyphemus, for example, the effect is to figure him as participating in Theocritean bucolic. When the character in question has his own connection to a different genre, as when the elegist Gallus plays the arch-herdsman Daphnis in B. 10, the generic mismatch can be a vehicle of metapoetic polemics. So much is obvious when a poet is himself a character in the poem as in B. 10, but polemics are also at play when Vergil uses shepherds as allegorical stand-ins for Gallus or himself."

[54] See Clausen, 76. Cf. also Tibullus 2.5.31-2 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.689-712.

[55] See Richard Hunter, *The Shadow of Callimachus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 35.

. . . . .]. . ρεην [ὀλ]ιγόστιχος· ἀλλὰ καθέλκει,
. . . . πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς·
τοῖν δὲ] δυοῖν Μίμνερμος ὅτι γλυκύς, αἰ γ' ἀπαλαὶ [
` . . . . . .] ἡ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή.

"... of few verses. But the nourishing Lawgiver [i.e. Demeter] far outweighs (?) the long … Of the two that Mimnermus is sweet … the tall lady did not teach," (Callimachus, *Aetia*, 1.11-2).[56]

Mimnermus was an elegist, who wrote short poems, so there is ancient scholarly conjecture that Callimachus was describing a preference for elegy over epic.[57] The Roman elegists use this convention as their mandate for the neoteric style.[58] But here Vergil does not imply that Callimacheanism can only fit with one genre of poetry. Vergil uses an elegiac canvas, the story of lovelorn Corydon, but he threads in Amyntas, as a foil, representing Callimachean polemics. This choice is surprising, as it seems to put Callimachean principles in opposition to each other. However, I posit that Vergil is intentionally inviting this tension in order to show that the elegant and learned style of Callimachus can exist in any genre of poetry, and it does not exclude hexameters from this program.

Eclogue 3 flips this characterization, and dwells in the arena of contest, but uses Amyntas to emphasize the elegaic aspects of the Callimachean program. *Eclogue* 3 is the

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[56] Trans. Hunter, 35.

[57] Ibid, 35.

[58] Ibid, 35. Hunter explains, "The Roman elegists, most notably Propertius, took up Callimachus' flexible and shifting critical language about elegiac style and turned it into a generic contrast between their kind of elegiac love poetry on the one hand and (hexameter) epic and tragedy, epic's next of kin, on the other; in this they were aided by and exploited, as we have seen, distinctions which the rhetorical tradition had constructed between the style of Homer and that of Hesiod. Words which in Callimachus describe a particular style of elegy, such as γλυκύ 'sweet', come to depict the elegiac project as a whole; the process was aided (and simplified) by the elegists' concentration upon one subject (love) and the 'lifestyle' built around it, for which the nearest Greek models were in fact found in Hellenistic epigram."

one of the most straightforwardly agonistic of the *Eclogues*, centering around the singing contest of Damoetas and Menalcas. Amyntas is mentioned in this poem as Menalcas' lover, and set in opposition to Damoetas' varied mistresses. Menalcas introduces his lover, saying, *at mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas, / notior ut iam sit canibus non Delia nostris*, "but besides, Amyntas, my flame, offers himself to me, so that now Delia is not more known to my dogs," (Vergil, 3.66-67). Vergil bestows an interesting epithet on Amyntas, calling him *meus ignis*, which is the first instance of this term of endearment in Roman poetry.[59] However, the association of love as a flame is very common in Hellenistic poetics, so this title works quite nicely here.[60] Amyntas is juxtaposed with Delia, whose name has unclear associations. Clausen states that this is likely a common slave name.[61] This name presented difficulty of interpretation for ancient scholars as well. Servius summarizes the opinions of scholars, saying, *Deliam alii amicam priorem volunt, alii Dianam,* "some want Delia to be a prior girlfriend, others Diana."[62] Clausen suggests that it is important to take this name in connection with *meae Veneri,* in the next line, since Diana and Venus are often paired together in amatory contexts.[63] It is also important to note that Delios is a cult title for Apollo, which points back to poetic aspirations. I suggest that this name would bring to mind Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, which celebrates the birth of both Apollo and Diana.

In the next couplet exchange, Menalcas then describes his gift to Amyntas, *quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta / aurea mala decem misi: cras altera mittam*. "I

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[59] See Clausen, 107-108.
[60] Cf. Apollonius of Rhodes 3.286-7, and Theocritus 2.26, 7.56.
[61] See Clausen, 108.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid. For association of Diana and Venus, cf. Propertius 2.19.17-18, or Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

have sent ten golden apples, selected from a woodsy tree, all that I could for my boy: tomorrow I will send another set" (Vergil, 3.70-1). Before revealing the nature of the gift, Vergil places the abstract descriptors in the first line. He uses a key rhetorical term, *silvestri*, derived from *silva*, which in the context of speech making represents source material. *Lecta* is another important programmatic word, as it is the titular substance of the *Eclogues*, or the Selections. *Lecta* is a highly literary word as it can mean to read, but also to choose or select. This seems to be closely linked with the program of the *Eclogues*, as there are revealed to be ten apples, which can represent each of the ten eclogues. Vergil metapoetically tethers the numbering of the gift to his work as a whole. However, the substance of this gift is important to the metapoetics of the poem as well. The apple, particularly the inscribed apple, is one of the important seals of Callimachus' *Acontius and Cydippe*. When Acontius tries to get Cydippe's attention, Callimachus says, τοῦ κήπου τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Κυδώνιον ἐκλεξάμενος μῆλον ἀπάτης αὐτῷ περιγεγράφηκας λόγον, "selecting a Cydonian apple from the garden of Aphrodite, you have written a story of deceit on it," (Callimachus, *Aetia*, fr. 75b.25). The selected apples of Menalcas point back to those of Acontius. The story of *Acontius and Cydippe* is the model *par excellence* of elegiac love poetry. Hunter notes that in Roman reception of Callimachus, Cydippe occupies the same foundational place in elegy that Achilles does in epic.[64] When Cydippe falls in love with Acontius she says, μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι, "by Artemis, I will marry Acontius!" (Callimachus, fr. 75b.35). Vergil perhaps lends some further association to this scene in the mention of Delia earlier. By

[64] See Hunter, 39.

aligning the gift to Amyntas with Acontius' gift to Cydippe, Menalcas elevates his lover to the status of the poetic beloved.

The Roman poets claim Callimachus as the champion of erotic poetry, playing up the amatory elements in the *Aetia* as the authority of their poetic inheritance.[65] Callimachus takes his programmatic marker of the *Aetia*, λεπταλέος, slender, from Homer's *Iliad*, where it is used only once, appearing in the ekphrasis of Achilles' shield.[66] The poet describes a harvest scene: τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι πάις φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ / ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε / λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ "in the middle a boy was playing a clear-toned lyre charmingly and was singing a pretty Linus song in a slender voice" (Homer, *Iliad*, 18.569-71). The Linus song is associated with the origins of elegiac poetry, and thus Callimachus coopts this mention from Homer away from epic war poetry into his aesthetic program.[67] Callimachus stays away from war poetry, which sets the precedent for the neoteric *recusatio* and emphasis on amatory elegy. Vergil presents the relationship of Menalcas and Amyntas with the tropes of amatory elegy. Menalcas says, *quid prodest quod me ipse animo non spernis, Amynta, / si dum tu sectaris apros, ego retia servo?* "what benefit is it to me, Amyntas, that you do not spurn me in your mind, if while you hunt the wild boar, I guard the nets?" (Vergil, 3.74-5). A menial task willingly undertaken by the lover is a common elegiac motif and places Menalcas in the role of the poetic lover.[68] Vergil casts Damoetas and Menalcas as foils of each other, with Damoetas singing of many heterosexual love interests, and Menalcas

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[65] Ibid, 35-39.
[66] See Acosta-Hughes, 103.
[67] Ibid, 103-4. Callimachus also adopts the persona of the boy on the shield by styling himself παῖς ἅτε, in the *Reply to the Telchines*. The boy is also associated with Achilles, as he also plays upon the φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ, while he is withdrawn from the war (Homer, 9.186).
[68] See Clausen, 109.

has only one current homosexual lover. Menalcas promises, *mihi solus Amyntas,* " for me there is only Amyntas," (Vergil, 3.83). Callimachus' poetic persona is also exclusively homoerotic.[69] Callimachus connects his ideal lover to his poetic program:

> Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
>
> χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει·
>
> μισέω καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ κρήνης
>
> πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
>
> Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός–ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
>
> τοῦτο σαφῶς Ἠχώ, φησί τις· "ἄλλος ἔχει."

> "I hate cyclic epic, nor do I delight in any road that carries crowds here and there. I detest a roving lover, and I do not drink from just any fountain. I loathe everything public. Lysanias, you are beautiful, yes, beautiful. But before Echo can repeat this clearly, someone says, "Another holds him." (Callimachus *Epigrams*, 28).[70]

Vergil leans into this erotic persona by setting up the stark contrast between Damoetas and Menalcas. *Eclogue* 3 presents the amatory aspects of the Callimachean program, which stands out against the canvas of agon that the substance of the poem is made of. Amyntas switches registers from the agonistic role he plays in *Eclogue* 2. On the one hand, in *Eclogue* 2, Amyntas embodies the Callimachus polemic aesthetic in an

[69] See Acosta-Hughes, 248.
[70] Trans. Loeb.

amatory context, while in *Eclogue* 3 he embodies the Callimachean erotic ideal in an atmosphere of agon.

Whereas in his first two appearances, Amyntas does not seem to belong,in the next two *Eclogues*, he is congruent with his environment. *Eclogue* 5 returns to the atmosphere of contest, where Callimachus looms in the background of the content. Vergil shows a Callimachean attentiveness to literary concerns as he again suggests Acontius' inscribed trees in *Eclogue* 5. Here in *Eclogue* 5, Mopsus says, *immo haec in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi / carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notavi / experiar: tu deinde iubeto ut certet Amyntas,* "no indeed, I'll try these songs, which recently I engraved on the green bark of a beech tree and singing, I marked the lines: now then you go and tell Amyntas to compete." (Vergil, 5.13-15). Again, Amyntas consistently shows up in the stanza that is imitative of Callimachus. The subject of the larger conversation in Eclogue 5 is the death of the mythic Daphnis. Vergil flags a Callimachean attunement to literary style since in the very first line of the *Hymn to Apollo,* Callimachus uses the word δάφνινος (Callimachus, *Hymns*, 2.1). Laurels are symbols of Apollo and the poetic arts, so Daphnis would be worthy subject matter for a conversation about literary style. *Eclogue* 5 shows itself conscious of literary style, and presumes an audience attuned to the intertextual conversation.[71]

At the beginning of the song exchange in *Eclogue 5*, Mopsus introduces discussion of his rival Amyntas. Though mention of Amyntas appears only briefly, he plays an important role in the framing of the program of *Eclogue 5*. Mopsus complains

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[71] See Hunter, 136. Hunter explains, "Writing is indeed used by Virgil as one of the aspects of that more explicit concern with the nature of poetry which marks his pastoral as secondary, engaged in conversation with the past."

of Amyntas, *Quid, si idem certet Phoebum superare canendo?* "Why does he strive to best Phoebus himself in singing?" (Vergil, 5.9). This phrasing refers the reader to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.[72] Callimachus explains, τέχνῃ δ᾽ ἀμφιλαφὴς οὔ τις τόσον ὅσσον Ἀπόλλων, "there is not anyone as great in his craft as Apollo" (Callimachus, *Hymns* 2.42.) There is conversation between these two lines in content and phrasing. The focus of each line is in the poetic skill, for Vergil, *canendo* and for Callimachus, τέχνῃ. Both of these words are in a similar grammatical construction, namely, the ablative and dative of respect. These words are placed in opposite positions in the line which may suggest that Vergil is using this reference to suggest something new, as an expansion of previous tradition. He rephrases the Callimachean content into a question, opening the door to opinion about poetic skill. Callimachus uses the indefinite, τις, to show that there is no one to contend with Apollo's poetic skill, whereas Vergil identifies Amyntas who dares to approach this contest. Vergil's line is explicitly and self-awarely agonistic, which should color the audience's perception of his objectives in this poem.

Vergil situates this description of Amyntas in an atmosphere of Callimachean aesthetics. Callimachus claims Apollo's support and justification for his own authority as a non-epic poet, particularly in competition against other poets.[73] This authority is a consistent hallmark in his poetry and would be viewed as a symbol suggestive of Callimachus' voice as a poet. Menalcas introduces Amyntas, saying, *montibus in nostris*

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[72] Callimachus uses Apollo as an important literary signature in his work. Callimachus begins his *Aetia* famously with instructions from Apollo, (Callimachus, *Aetia*, 1.1.21-24.)

[73] See Anne Gosling, "Political Apollo: From Callimachus to the Augustans." *Mnemosyne* 45, no. 4 (1992): 506. Gosling analyzes the significance of how, "Callimachus claims Apollo's authority not just for poets generally, but also for himself and repeatedly invokes him in passages in which he attacks his critics and propounds his theories of poetry."

solus tibi certat Amyntas, "Amyntas alone contends with you in our mountains" (Vergil, 5.8). *Certat* is an important programmatic word in this *Eclogue*, as it draws attention to the polemic objectives of the poem.[74] There is further emphasis on *certet* as it is used in a new grammatical construction. *Certat* with *tibi* as a dative object is first attested in this line.[75] It is important that Vergil signals the competitive atmosphere of *Eclogue* 5 with the introduction of Amyntas. The scene is set up *in montibus* to suggest the sacred grove which is the venue of Callimachus.[76] In the *Aetia*, Callimachus has an encounter in a dream with the Muses on Mt. Helicon, explicitly mimicking the experience of Hesiod.[77] Hesiod sets the tone for the Alexandrian poets with a brief and bucolic style of epic. In *Eclogue 5*, Vergil uses Amyntas to represent the polemic aspects of Callimachean aesthetics. In contrast with Eclogues 2 & 3, Amyntas is not at odds with the generic situation of *Eclogue* 5's contest.

Throughout the *Eclogues*, Amyntas flips back and forth between amatory and polemic roles. Because of the inconstancy of this characterization, Amyntas is often read as a stock character stand-in. Van Sickle catalogues the characters of the *Eclogues*, saying of Amyntas's name that "in the *Bucolics*, it has been used for the generic types of feckless competitor (ii 35,39) and boy love (iii 66, 74, 84).[78] Reading Amyntas as representative of Callimachean aesthetics makes sense of this generic adaptability. Recalling *Eclogue* 10, Amyntas is described as *fuscus*, which can have a rhetorical

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[74] Cf. Propertius 4.6.3.

[75] See Clausen, 156. Cf. also *Lucr.* 3.6-7 and *Cat.* 62.64.

[76] See Hunter, 16-18. Callimachus uses the locus amoenus of pastoral as a place of significance in the *Hymn to Demeter*. The grove is a key location for worship, and as such is generically suited to Callimachus' *Hymns*.

[77] Ibid, 17.

[78] See Van Sickle, 139.

resonance of obscurity, or unclarity. Amyntas does not fit neatly into any singular genre, rather he shows a case-study of the adaptability of Callimachean poetics. Vergil places Amyntas first at odds with his generic scenario in *Eclogues* 2 and 3 and then at harmony in *Eclogues* 5 and 10. I posit that Vergil courts intentionally this tension, in order to emphasize the adaptability of Callimachean aesthetics. Vergil places Amyntas markedly at odds with the genre, and assimilates him similar to how Vergil is assimilating all his other poetic influences into his own style of poetics. Throughout the collection, the capacity for assimilation expands, allowing all of Vergil's poetic models to come to a sense of unified harmony in the end.

CHAPTER 3

SELECTION: THEOCRITEAN SCHOLIA

For this chapter, I will examine how Vergil situates the *Eclogues* in a tradition, not simply of poetry, but also of literary scholarship. For Vergil, the tradition, a literal process of "handing down," is more nuanced than merely a direct, one-on-one conversation with model poets, but rather a larger conversation with the intelligentsia writ-large. Vergil balances both reception of Theocritus himself and also a more oblique relationship with the Theocritean scholars. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil revives the genre of pastoral which had not been seriously advanced since the Hellenistic era. Van Sickle describes this choice as Vergil reclaiming bucolics from the death notice of being an artifact of the past, only handled by scholaists.[79] I offer the model of the stepmotherly relationship to understand the relationship of scholarship to poetry. The poets receive teaching and visible intertextual DNA from the previous master poets. In antiquity, the stepmother relationship is defined by some level of hostility along with practical care. The scholars provide a space for poetry to be analyzed, but also the relationship is by nature critical and can be competitive. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil takes in an orphaned genre and makes it new, attending to both mothers and stepmothers in his method of reception.

In this chapter, I will follow the example of Farrell's "Ancient Commentaries on Theocritus' *Idylls* and Vergil's *Eclogues,*" and look at how Vergil makes use of the

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[79] See Van Sickle, 101.

scholia on Theocritus in his reception.[80] Farrell posits that Vergil is responding to the debates of Theocritean scholiasts to focus his reception. I will explore this theme through the example of how Vergil interacts with Theocritus and his scholiasts in *Eclogue 3*. In *Eclogue 3*, Vergil discusses questions of poetic succession, weaving a patchwork of references to the *Idylls*. I will focus on the scholarly conversation surrounding *Idyll* 8, one of the main models for *Eclogue* 3. There is significant modern doubt that this poem was authored by Theocritus, though the ancient scholiasts are silent about the issue. Because of the uncertain nature of the authorship, the audience must ask: what does it mean to imitate an imitation? In response to this question, I will interrogate Vergil's methodology of reception, the role of the judge in the poem, and the meaning of the competition prize.

Vergil builds the world of the *Eclogues* on top of a framework of Hellenistic proficiency. Vergil employs the landscape and language of Theocritus' *Idylls* as the structure and backbone of the *Eclogues*. In *Eclogue* 3, he demonstrates this familiarity and proficiency with many references to the Theocritean corpus. Vergil, receiving Theocritus as a jumping off point, dialogues with the language of the *Idylls* to secure his position in the bucolic tradition. Vergil refers to Theocritus in obvious ways, but uses these reference points to display an erudite and sophisticated style of poetics. For example, Vergil shows off his scholarship when Damoetas sings, *frigidus, o pueri (fugite hinc), latet anguis in herba*, " the cold snake, o boys, (get out of here!), hides in the grass," (Vergil, *Eclogues*, 3.93). In this line, Vergil subverts word order expectations and

[80] See Farrell, 397–418. While it is generally accepted that Vergil had access to some Theocritean scholiast material, Farrell's overarching argument posits that Vergil was working with the commentary of multiple scholiast in order to focus his reception.

leaves the sentence scattered and jumbled, mimicking the tension one might feel upon finding a snake hidden in the grass. However, there are more layers of interpretation to understand why Vergil employs this unusual word order. By separating the adjective *frigidus* so far from its noun, *anguis*, Vergil highlights it as a particularly important part of the line. Vergil grabs the audience's attention and forces them to spend more time thinking about the line, setting them up to catch the allusion. Clausen notes that this cannot be for only reasons of flaunting proper taxonomy, as all snakes are cold blooded.[81] Vergil is instead directing his audience to Theocritus, τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄφιν, "the cold serpent," (Theocritus, *Idylls*, 15.58). This emphasis alerts the audience to Vergil's erudition and technical proficiency in his knowledge of the Theocritean corpus.

However, Vergil does not appear to be selecting passages from Theocritus at random, but rather he leans on the scholarly community in order to focus his reception. Farrell discusses examples of this methodology. In *Idyll* 1, when Thyrsis sings about the death of Daphnis he mentions that even a lion mourned (Theocritus, *Idylls*, 1.72). Farrell explains that commentators have criticized this passage because there are no lions in Sicily.[82] However, as Vergil imitates this passage, he carefully corrects this geographical mistake, and specifies that the lions that mourn for Daphnis are Punic (Vergil, 5.27). Vergil's methodology of reception seems to center around his scholarly proficiency. Vergil receives Theocritus with the input of the scholiasts as well, showing an overall well roundedness in his scholarly attention.

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[81] See Clausen, 113.

[82] See Farrell, 400. Farrell also notes the certainty that Theocritus is setting this scene in Sicily, explaining, "the Sicilian mise-en-scène is emphasized by the toponyms Anapo, Etna, and Acis in lines 68–9."

However, Vergil's attentiveness to scholarly conversation does not mean subservience. Vergil shows instances of challenging the assessments of the scholiasts as well. Farrell interrogates another one of these instances. He points out an important phrase in *Idyll* 8, when the singer addresses a billy goat, "using a mock-grandiloquent periphrasis."[83] Menalcas sings, ὦ τράγε τᾶν λευκὰν ἄνερ αἰγῶν, "O he-goat, husband of the white nannies," (Theocritus, 8.49). In *Eclogue* 7, Vergil suggests a reference to Idyll 8 using a very similar phrase, *vir gregis ipse caper* "the he-goat, husband of the herd himself, (Vergil, 7.7). The content of these phrases is nearly identical, and Vergil even uses *vir* to compare to ἄνερ, two words with the same tenor and flexibility to describe simply a man, or in this case a husband. While the contexts of these passages are not similar, the phrase is certainly distinctive enough to refer the reader back to Idyll 8. Farrell notes how the ancient commentators received this distinctive phrase in an odd way, explaining, "one of them labelled Theocritus' ἄνερ αἰγῶν an instance of catachresis, a type of solecism. Similarly, Servius calls *vir gregis* an instance of acyrology, also a type of solecism. The basic point of both notes is thus identical. It is a reasonable inference, then, that this note was transferred from a Theocritean to a Virgilian commentary by someone who knew that Virgil's *vir gregis* is modeled on Theocritus' ἄνερ αἰγῶν."[84] This critique of the scholiasts seems harsh and unnecessary, and Vergil does not appear to agree with their opinion. Surely not naive to this scholarly estimation, Vergil chooses to insert his own voice into the scholarly dialogue with the imitation of this phrase. Farrell presents a compelling explanation of why Vergil may have even courted

[83] Ibid, 402.
[84] Ibid.

scholastic censure, saying, "the aspiring writer's stature as the Roman Theocritus would be peculiarly reinforced: both poets would be defined as canonical by receiving the honour of grammatical exegesis and by enduring censure at the hands of critics whose taste was more conventional than their own."[85] By embracing this critique, Vergil acts not only as a poet, but as a scholar, entering the arbitration of poetics.

Having established a precedent of Vergil's conversation with Theocritean scholia, I will use this methodology to analyze Vergil's reception of Theocritus' *Idyll* 8. However, before a productive discussion about *Idyll* 8 can happen, some background information about the authorship of this *Idyll* is necessary in order to access the argumentation. There is a history of commentators who find this *Idyll* to be spurious, in at least part if not the whole.[86] The arguments against Theocritus' authorship include issues of meter, language, prosody and dialect. Gow comments on the plot and content similarities of *Idylls* 5, 6 & 8, saying, "if all are by T., he has certainly shown some poverty of invention."[87] There are details in the narration of *Idyll* 8 that do not align with

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[85] Ibid. Farrell provides a helpful discussion of another Vergilian instance of this strategy, explaining, " In a brilliant paper, Sergio Casali has shown that Virgil, with far greater ambition than the *Eclogues* passage involves (and with a sense of irony that borders on the perverse), fashioned book 9 of the *Aeneid* along the lines of *Iliad* 10, the 'Doloneia', in such a way as to emphasize rather than avoid the faults that ancient critics had found with that particular book of Homer. Casali further shows that Virgil's own critics, ancient as well as modern, have found his adaptation to be awed in precisely the same respects as Homer's critics found the original to be awed. On the basis of these facts, Casali infers that Virgil hoped to influence the reception of his work in just this way. Up till now, to the best of my knowledge, Casali's argument about *Aeneid* 9 has remained an extraordinarily impressive, but somewhat inscrutable, *unicum*—the only case in which Virgil apparently courted censure, rather than trying to avoid it. But I would suggest that Virgil's much more modest invitation of the charge of solecism in the Theocritean phrase *vir gregis* indicates that the curious attitude which Casali finds in Aeneid 9 was present already in *nuce* in the Eclogues," (Farrell, 403).

[86] See A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus, Edited with a Translation and Commentary by A.S.F. Gow*. University Press, 1950, 170. Gow surveys previous commentators on Idyll 8, such as Valckenaer, Hermann, Aherns, and Legrand, who all agree that there are authorial issues in this poem. These commentators, beginning with Valckenaer, have purported this idea since at least 1781.

[87] Ibid.

the canonical events of other *Idylls*, such as the characterization of the bucolic hero Daphnis and his marriage to Nais, which is inconsistent with the description of events in *Idyll* 1.[88] Gow points out instances where scholars judge the meter of this poem to be un-Theocritean at 8.10 & 8.14.[89] There are also issues of dialect, such as when the poet uses ἄμφω (Theocritus, 8.3). Gow explains why this is problematic: "apart from this word (2.143, 6.3) the genuine Doric poems contain no duals though they occur in the certainly spurious (20.12, 21.8f., 48). The couplet is therefore some evidence against T.'s authorship."[90] In addition to issues of meter and dialect, some commentators distrust the authenticity of the poem because of turns of phrase and grammatical construction. Gow discusses an example of this critique of λῇς μοι ἀεῖσαι (Theocritus, 8.6). He says that "the text has been suspected, and the construction has been alleged against T.'s authorship, but the extension of the dative regular with verbs indicating competition to verbs in which that idea is not implicit does not seem unnatural and is possibly supported by 1.136."[91] While the critiques of phrasing are consistent, they are by no means conclusive. Gow also points out when commenting on *Idyll* 1.136 that Vergil seems to refer to this content and construction at *Eclogue* 8.55.[92]

While modern analysis has found evidence of Theocritus' authorship of *Idyll* 8 lacking, it is incredibly important to note that there are no such objections in any ancient manuscripts or scholia.[93] This *Idyll* appears in the collection of Theocritus as early as 2nd

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[88] Ibid, 171.
[89] Ibid, 173-4.
[90] Ibid172.
[91] Ibid. Gow also notes that there is precedent for this type of construction at *Od*. 8.188.
[92] Ibid, 29.
[93] Ibid, 171.

century AD, in the papyrus, P1.[94] Vergil's studied imitation of the poem as well lends a not insignificant layer of credibility. Gow sums up his own assessment of the authenticity of the poem, saying, "the evidence against it cannot be considered conclusive, and there is no impropriety in regarding it as T.'s—perhaps an early work. But in such a matter it is impossible to exclude subjective impressions entirely, and I cannot believe that the *Idyll* is by the same hand as T.'s genuine bucolic poems. If not by him, it is by an imitator, but by an imitator of considerable independent talent."[95]

Bearing this authorial question in mind, I will now examine how Vergil receives *Idyll* 8, attending to scholiastic commentary. Modern scholars see the oddities in Idyll 8 as simply evidence for spuriousness, but Vergil treats them as opportunities to imitate in a nuanced way. In *Eclogue* 3, Vergil presents a singing competition between Damoetas and Menalcas. Menalcas overlaps with *Idyll* 8, where the sparring match is between Daphnis and Menalcas. At the beginning of *Idyll* 8, Menalcas is identified as a shepherd, which is not consistent with how he is portrayed as a goatherd in other *Idylls*, which, according to Gow, is an important distinction.[96] The poet says that the encounter with Daphnis takes place while Menalcas is μῆλα νέμων, "managing the sheep" (Theocritus, 8.2). Gow says that this word typically means "sheep" but there is precedent in Homer for usage that is more broadly applied to herd animals, such as goats and cattle.[97] This change in detail may imply some discrepancy in authorship of the *Idyll*, as Theocritus is usually very attentive about the specific job of each herdsman. However, Vergil clearly

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] See Gow, 173. C.f. also *Od*. 9.184, 14.105.

keeps this characterization of Menalcas in *Eclogue* 3, when he addresses his flock, *infelix, o semper, oues, pecus*!, "Unlucky always, o sheep, my flock!" (Vergil, 3.3). Vergil uses the word *oues* to describe Menalcas' flock, which does specify *sheep* and only sheep. When commenting on this initial opening, a scholiast names Menalcas as Μενάλκας ποιμήν, "Menalcas, the shepherd."[98] This choice of word does not immediately correspond with μῆλα, but ποιμήν is associated with only sheep.[99] The scholiast also uses a different word, αἰπόλον, to describe the judge as a goatherd.[100]

Vergil may show some awareness of this difficulty, with his placement of an important line: *non verum Aegonis; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon,* "no, truly [that] of Aegon; recently Aegon handed them down to me," (Vergil, 3.2). In this line, Menalcas describes the process of poetic succession. This line immediately precedes where Menalcas addresses his flock of sheep. The name Aegon is interesting and needs to be analyzed a little closer. This name is borrowed from the Greek, Αἴγων, which likely derives from αἴξ, meaning "goat." While it certainly makes sense that Vergil would choose a name with bucolic tonality, I think it is interesting that he positions this name so closely to Menalcas' identification as a shepherd. I suggest that Vergil makes this choice in order to invite the reader to consider again the Theocritean scholiastic debate. I would certainly be remiss to not point out that the opening of *Eclogue* 3 is a direct imitation of Theocritus 4.1-2. (Vergil, 3.1-2).[101] Vergil clearly has the audience immersed in the world of Theocritus for the introduction of this poem. With this opening, Vergil has his

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[98] See Carl Wendel, ed. *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 1966, 203.

[99] The LSJ notes that ποιμήν can have the connotation of either sheep or cattle in Homer, but after Homer it exclusively refers to sheep.

[100] See Wendel, 203.

[101] See Clausen, 92.

audience primed to be attentive to Theocritean intertexts. I suggest that this parallel invites the audience to consider the positions of the herdsman. Vergil again shows his careful attention to detail, and builds his poetics atop a foundation of erudition. Vergil also highlights this line as important with the use of *tradidit,* a marked word. By this choice of a word, in a line of such conscious imitation, Vergil both asks his audience to consider the canon and also claims a place in it for himself.

In receiving Theocritus, Vergil acts as a judge, consistently leaning into the odd details and compounding the oddness to make the finished product stand out in the poetic tradition. He takes the source content and fashions it into something more riddled in character. Vergil shows a key example of this process, as Menalcas says, *est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta nouerca, / bisque die numerant ambo pecus, alter et haedos.* "At home I have a father, and I have an unjust stepmother, and twice a day they both count the sheep, and one of them counts the kids," (Vergil, 3.33-34). Vergil plays with the idea of number here, both with the use of *numerant* and also by drawing attention to the pairs in this vignette. Vergil appears to consciously join this couplet to Menalcas' statement in *Idyll* 8: οὐ θησῶ ποκα ἀμνόν, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ὁ πατήρ μευ / χά μάτηρ, τὰ δὲ μῆλα ποθέσπερα πάντ᾽ ἀριθμεῦντι "at no time ever will I stake a lamb, when my father is harsh and also my mother, and they number the sheep every evening," (Theocritus, 8.15-16). The content is similar, yet Vergil has doubled most of the defining features. The sheep are counted twice a night, which is an unusual practice.[102] The father's harshness has transferred over to the mother, who is a step removed into a

[102] Ibid, 99.

stepmother. The trope of the wicked stepmother is a memorable one, which highlights this passage for Vergil's audience.[103] Vergil consistently takes Theocritus a step beyond.

Vergil's selection of Theocritus shows his preference to emphasize the oddities, similar to how scholars would focus their attention. Vergil's project is to show his poetic process to the audience, both in matters of poetry and also scholarship. He invites the audience to attend with him to a piece of dialogue in *Idyll* 8.

> ΜΕ: μή μοι γᾶν Πέλοπος, μή μοι χρύσεια τάλαντα
> εἴη ἔχειν, μηδὲ πρόσθε θέειν ἀνέμων:
> ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τᾷ πέτρᾳ τᾷδ᾽ ᾄσομαι, ἀγκὰς ἔχων τυ,
> σύννομα μᾶλ᾽ ἐσορῶν, τὰν Σικελὰν ἐς ἅλα.
> DA: δένδρεσι μὲν χειμὼν φοβερὸν κακόν, ὕδασι δ᾽ αὐχμός,
> ὄρνισιν δ᾽ ὕσπλαγξ, ἀγροτέροις δὲ λίνα,
> ἀνδρὶ δὲ παρθενικᾶς ἀπαλᾶς πόθος. ὦ πάτερ ὦ Ζεῦ,
> οὐ μόνος ἠράσθην: καὶ τὺ γυναικοφίλας.
>
> "ME: Nor Pelops' land, nor Croesus' wealth be mine, nor to outrun the winds. Rather, beneath this rock will I sit and sing with thee in my arms and watch my grazing flocks and the Sicilian sea.
> DA: Dread plague to trees is tempest, drought to the waters, the spring to birds, and nets to game; and to a man desire for a tender maiden. Ah Father Zeus, not I alone am love-sick; thou too lovest women," (Theocritus, 8.53-60).[104]

This section of *Idyll* 8 is fraught with issues. There is doubt from modern scholars about the authenticity and ordering of this particular section.[105] However, imitations from Vergil and Callimachus lend some support to taking these quatrains seriously, at least as ancient. Callimachus presents a conscious variation of this last quatrain:

> Τὸν τὸ καλὸν μελανεῦντα Θεόκριτον, εἰ μὲν ἔμ᾽ ἔχθει

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[103] Ibid

[104] See Gow, 73.

[105] Ibid, 179. Hermann expels this quatrain on the basis of the quality of the verses having more characteristics of epigram. However, Gow pushes back on this assessment of the spurious epigrammatic quality as a foregone conclusion. Thematically it seems likely that there are a few lines missing.

τετράκι μισοίης, εἰ δὲ φιλεῖ, φιλέοις,
νaίχι πρὸς εὐχαίτεω Γανυμήδεος, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ·
καὶ σύ ποτ᾽ ἠράσθης—οὐκέτι μακρὰ λέγω.

"Theocritus, whose cheeks are growing dark beautifully: if he hates me, you should despise him four times as much; but if he loves me, you should love him. Yes, by Ganymede, whose hair is lovely, O Uranian Zeus, even you once loved—I say no more," (Callimachus, *Epigram* 52).[106]

The mention of Theocritus' name seems to lend more support to the epigram directly referencing *Idyll* 8.[107] But, it is also possible that the author of Idyll 8 was imitating Callimachus, as the content of these lines is well attested, appearing as early Theognis.[108] However, Vergil's imitation adds credibility to the ancient authenticity of these lines. Damoetas builds upon the construction of the similes in Idyll 8, as he says, *Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres. / arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllidis irae*, "sad as the wolf to the flock, the rains to the ripe crops, the wind to the trees, so is the anger of Amaryllis to me" (Vergil, 3.80-81). Vergil uses the same structure of these similes, and reuses the image of the wind and the trees, but changes the other images. He subverts the image of drought to its opposite situation of too much rain on ripe crops. The wolf to the flock shows up as an odd change as well. While *stabulis* most likely has the meaning of a flock, or a place where the animals are kept, it can also be equivalent to a *lupanar*, or a brothel. The connection of the wolf and the brothel would surely not be lost on Vergil's audience. In this allusion, Vergil plays with a double entendre, always leaning into the weird details.

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[106] Trans. Loeb.
[107] See Gow, 180. Gow also notes that Callimachus may be referencing Bacchylides *fr.* 18 in the choice of the name Theocritus in this epigram.
[108] Ibid. Cf. Theognis 696 & 1345.

At the telos point of the simile, Vergil shifts the direction in a subtle but important way. Daphnis complains that desire for a woman makes any man lovesick, but consoles himself with the sympathy of Zeus' shared experience. Damoetas does not take issue with lovesickness in general, but he shifts the concern to the angers of Amaryllis. This shift specifies more about the emotional state of Damoetas and Amaryllis in relationship than the mere state of being love-sick. Vergil takes a step beyond pure generic convention and into more fully embodied experience. This movement is in line with other aspects of Vergil's poetic program.

Brian Breed discusses how Vergil presents a new style of treating suffering in the world of the *Eclogues*.[109] Breed's analysis of *Eclogue* 1 finds a marked shift in how Vergil treats painful experience from the previous poetic tradition. In general, for a post-Aristotelian literary audience pleasure is identified as the purpose of poetry, supported by such examples as Theocritus' *Idylls* 1 and 7. The poetic tradition fits in well with an Epicurean outlook, seeking freedom from pain and achieving mitigation of suffering through art.[110] Breed argues that Vergil's attitude in *Eclogue* 1 of presenting suffering without an immediate resolution into pleasure is a significant generic shift. I suggest that Vergil is doing something similar in the subtle corrections and subversions of the previously discussed similes in *Idyll* 8. Vergil reformats the simile to lead to a more personal and relational experience for Damoetas, instead of a completing a collection of literary tropes. Vergil uses the existing similes to make the statement more vivid, but the ultimate goal of the couplet is to open up the experience of Damoetas for the audience.

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[109] See Breed, 110-116.

[110] It is a salient point to note that in *Eclogue* 1, Vergil presents the pathetic situation through the character of Meliboeus. The name Meliboeus suggests suggests a root of *mel*, honey, which ought to suggest Lucretius' description of using poetics as honey to make philosophy palatable to the learned audience.

This is particularly striking working within the pastoral genre, which derives much of its character from a quality of escapism.

Returning to the question of *Idyll* 8's authorship, Vergil's engagement makes it clear that he takes this poem seriously. The fact that Vergil finds it important enough to imitate can tell us that the poem is old, and likely circulated in the regular collection of Theocritus' *Idylls*. However, the circulation alone cannot provide conclusive evidence for the authorship of *Idyll* 8.[111] Regardless of the authorship, Vergil's incorporation of this poem into his *Eclogues* means that it is an important step in the canon of bucolic poetry. *Idyll* 8 matters in the bucolic tradition, which is more about generic boundaries, embodied by style, than the work of a particular author. Vergil imitates in the manner of a poet, but he also chooses what to imitate in the manner of a scholar. He proves his worth as a skilled technician by finding the rabbit holes in the *Idylls* and capitalizing on these moments. The result is poetry that is clearly learned, but also advances the genre into something new entirely.

Vergil supports this attitude by making a key departure from the details of *Idyll* 8. In Theocritus, the judge of the contest between Menalcas and Daphnis remains unnamed. He is merely identified as a goatherd. When Daphnis offers a judge he suggests τῆνον πῶς ἐνταῦθα τὸν αἰπόλον, "that goatherd over there," (Theocritus, 8.26). This is an odd detail, since presumably these herdsmen would know each other. When the goatherd enters the scene as the judge, still no further specification is made. We learn, χοἱ μὲν παῖδες ἄυσαν, ὁ δ᾽ αἰπόλος ἦνθ᾽ ἐπακοῦσαι. / χοἱ μὲν παῖδες ἄειδον, ὁ δ᾽ αἰπόλος ἤθελε κρίνειν, "So the boys shouted and the goatherd heard and came. And so the boys sang

[111] See Gow, 171. Gow reminds us that Vergil imitates *Idyll* 9 heavily as well, which is a poem that is "impossible to accept" as the work of Theocritus.

and the goatherd was willing to judge" (Theocritus, 8.28-9). With the title of judge, no name comes for the goatherd. This suggests a generality and universality in the figure of the judge. This marked anonymity stands out in a poetic program where the actors are usually identified.

There is also interest in this anonymity from the scholarly commentators on Theocritus. Commenting on the setup of the bucolic dialogue, one scholiast includes the terms of Theocritus, saying, ειληφότες κριτην αίπόλον, "seizing a goatherd as a judge."[112] It is odd that a seemingly random goatherd be appointed as judge of this contest, and the description of seizing is even more odd. Another scholiast has interest in the character of the judge, and describes him thus: εἵλοντο κριτήν τινα, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα σεσιώπηται, "they seize some judge, whose name is kept silent."[113] This commentator emphasizes the anonymity of the judge by using the indefinite τινα, but also draws attention to the markedness of the fact that the name is kept silent. He does not say that the judge is nameless, but simply restates that the name appears to be kept silent as a point of intrigue. The commentator offers no theory as to what the name might be or the reason for this namelessness. However, this invites the reader to consider what the author's purpose is in not sharing this information with the audience.

Vergil sees this curious crack in the narrative and pushes himself into it. In *Eclogue* 3, Damoetas and Menalcas elect a judge of their contest, who is explicitly named as Palaemon. Menalcas introduces the judge as he says, *Nunquam hodie effugies; veniam, quocumque vocari /audiat haec tantum—vel qui venit ecce Palaemon / efficiam*

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[112] See Wendel, 203.
[113] Ibid.

posthac ne quemquam voce lacessas, you will never flee me today; I will come, let this thing be heard by whoever–or look! Here's Palaemon! I will make it so that after this you never annoy anyone with your voice," (Vergil, 3.49-51). Here Vergil switches up the expectations and makes clear mention of Palaemon's name, but no mention of his title as judge, or even herdsman. Vergil seems to gesture more towards the scholiast than Theocritus in his adaptation of this scenario. Vergil initially describes him with some indefiniteness, which sharply makes way to a name. Damoetas also extends an invitation to Palaemon to judge, saying, "...*tantum, vicine Palaemon, / sensibus haec imis, res est non parva, reponas*, this [contest], neighbor Palaemon, reckon these things (it is no small matter) according to your inmost senses," (Vergil, 3.53-4). Vergil seems to take care to obscure the Palaemon's role as a judge in this interaction. While in the context it is clear that the singers intend for him to act as judge, the role is presented in a familiar and understated way. Damoetas addresses Palaemon with familiarity, as a neighbor, *vicine*. The familiarity which Damoetas shows towards Palaemon adds specificity to his character. Vergil makes it incredibly clear who Palaemon is, and the relationship between him and Menalcas and Damoetas.

The name Palaemon is an odd choice, which draws attention from the audience.[114] Vergil also repeats this name in the Aeneid, this time as a sea deity, (Vergil, *Aeneid*, 5.823). This name has long been of interest to Vergil's scholarly readership. The ancient commentary tradition sought to interpret the *Eclogues* with copious biographical allegories. The character of Palaemon presents an interesting avenue to this type of speculation. Suetonius tells the story that the *grammaticus,* Q. Remmius Palaemon, who

[114] See Clausen, 104.

was working during the era of Tiberius and Claudius, saw this character as prophetic mention of himself as a critic. Suetonius says that this scholar Palaemon claimed, *nomen suum in Bucolicis non temere positum sed praesagente Vergilio fore quandoque omnium poetarum ac Palaemonem iudicem*, "his name was not placed in the *Bucolics* rashly, but due to the prophecy of Vergil since he would be the greatest of poets and Palaemon the greatest of judges," (Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 23.4). Suetonius gives the reason of this man's arrogance, *adrogania,* for these exaggerated claims. Farrell disagrees with Suetonius, suggesting that "...unless Palaemon was actually delusional, his remark (particularly in view of its 'prophetic' nature) seems likely to be mocking Asinius Gallus' earlier claim."[115] While this idea is doubtless helpful for interrogating Palaemon the scholar's claim, I posit that there is something in this circumstance that makes Palaemon appropriate for this association in particular. Vergil places specificity in the gap of Theocritus, acting as a scholar to make a choice about interpretation. To be a grammarian is to be a judge, so it makes sense that Palaemon the *grammaticus* would covet this role.

Turning from the judge to the judgement, and the aim of the contest, it is important to examine how Vergil treats the prizes, and the language surrounding the prizes. Vergil uses terms to set up the contest which hold stakes poetically as well. Damoetas invites Menalcas to the contest, saying, *Ego hanc vitulam—ne forte recuses, /bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fetus— /depono: tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes*, "I have this heifer–lest by chance you refuse, it comes twice to milking and nourishes two calves with its udder–I will put this down: you tell me with which pledge

[115] See Farrell, 410. Asinius Gallus made the claim to identify himself as the *puer* celebrated in *Eclogue* 4.

you will make compete with me," (Vergil, *Eclogues*, 3.29-31). Damoetas first identifies a prize, and then clarifies his staking of a prize. *Depono* is an odd choice of a word for Vergil, and since it does not show up elsewhere in the *Eclogues*, this usage does seem to be marked.[116] Clausen offers the suggestion that Vergil is using *depono* to imitate *Idyll* 8's use of καταθεῖναι, (Theocritus, 8.11).[117] The stake-setting is language is marked in order to highlight this loan from Theocritus. However, Theocritus is not the only important precedent of this usage. Theocritus appears to be calling back to Homeric language.[118] The phrase κατατιθέναι ἄεθλα, "to set up prizes," is often used to set up contests, in both the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*.[119] Vergil leans in to the epic undertones of bucolics with this use of a double window text. He shows off his learned scholarly eye with this choice of phrasing. Homeric prize language brings up for the audience questions of glory and qualification. Theocritus takes the epic and turns it into bucolic and Vergil follows these questions by framing them into a new generic context.

Vergil takes on the role of a judge of poetry as he sets up the prizes to be arbitrated. Menalcas and Damoetas each offer a prize which calls back to Theocritus' *Idyll* 1. The heifer which Damoetas offers is a rare type, one that has had two calves, (Vergil 3.29-31).[120] Since this is a rare natural occurrence, it seems likely that this detail is added for literary effect in order to call back to the she-goat of *Idyll* 1. In this Idyll, a goat with twins is set up as a prize: αἶγα δέ τοι δωσῶ διδυματόκον ἐς τρὶς ἀμέλξαι, / ἃ δύ' ἔχοισ' ἐρίφως ποταμέλγεται ἐς δύο πέλλας, "I'll give you a goat, the mother of twins, to

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[116] See Clausen, 99.
[117] Ibid
[118] See Gow, 173.
[119] Cf. *Odyssey* 24.91,19.572, *Iliad* 23.267, 884.
[120] See Clausen, 98. Clausen notes that cows do not often give birth to twins. Cf. also Aristotle *HA* 575a 30 and Pliny *NH* 8.177.

milk three times and even though she has two kids her milk yet fills two pails," (Theocritus, 1.25-26).[121] Vergil changes the circumstances slightly, from goat to cow, and creates a point of confusion, perhaps discomfort for the learned audience. Servius and ancient commentators objected to this detail of the cow.[122] By intentionally courting the discomfort of the scholars, Vergil can easily draw attention to this passage. Having gained the scholarly reader's attention, the next consideration will obviously shift to the allusion to Theocritus. Vergil weaves in these moments of discomfort to make space so that he can show more clearly how he is interacting with Theocritus' corpus.

When Menalcas sets up his prize offering, he suggests two ornate cups, *pocula ponam / fagina,* "I will put down two beechen cups," (Vergil , 3.36-7). He then continues with a lengthy ecphrasis that calls to mind the ecphrasis of the cup in *Idyll* 1, (Vergil, 3.36-42). Thomas Hubbard explains the significance of the cup, saying, "The κισσύβιον, or 'ivy cup' (Theocritus 1.27-60), has long been recognized as an ecphrastic emblem of Theocritus' poetry in its epic context. The rare word comes out of the *Odyssey* where it refers to cups used by Polyphemus and Eumaeus: the word's connotations are thus epic but at the same time humble and rustic."[123] Vergil leans in to all of these generic avenues and shows mastery over all of them in the light and graceful references. However, when

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[121] Trans. Clausen, 98.

[122] Ibid

[123] See Hubbard, 21-22. Hubbard continues to discuss that the cup contains a lengthy ecphrasis which contains additional allusions. He explains, "First the woman with her two contending lovers recalls the elders judging the two litigants on the Shield of Achilles. Second, the sinewy old fisherman casting his net recalls a similar figure on the pseudo-Hesiodic Shield of Heracles. … Third, the picturesque scene of the boy on the wall absentmindedly weaving a cricket cage while foxes raid the vineyard he is supposed to be guarding evokes a complex melange of programmatic references: weaving as poetic composition, the cicada as a paradigm of sweet song, the child as a symbol of Alexandrian playfulness and rejection of grandeur." Hubbard synthesizes these three scenes as a representation of all the styles of poetry, as "the cup becomes a precious heirloom, representing the sum of the poetic traditions and styles that pass from the hands of one poet into those of another."

dealing with Theocritus, at many important points of confluence, Vergil chooses to double some detail. Here in the ecphrasis of the cups, he doubles the objects, similarly to how he handles the father and the stepmother counting the goats. While the details of this scene are all markedly double, like the counting of the goats, even adding in a stepmother is to double the relationship of the mother. The mother relationship is a place of source, and etymologically of material. The stepmother relationship is not a biological one, but is defined by some kind of care, and literarily by some sort of hostility or competition. This sort of attitude can be applied to the relationship between scholarship and poetic inheritance. Vergil shows both mother and stepmother relationships to the poets and the scholars. Vergil receives material from the source poets, here particularly Theocritus. But Vergil also consciously reveals a stepmother-like relationship to scholarship. Scholarship provides structure and guidance, but comes with a layer of antagonism. Vergil shows that he can both handle the antagonism, and also deal it out as he works like a scholar in his decisions of what to emphasize and integrate from the poetic tradition.

CHAPTER 4

MATURITY: MENALCAS AS THE MODEL POET

In this next chapter, I will explore how Vergil portrays the cycle of authorial maturity in the *Eclogues* as the instantiation of his poetic program. In dialogue with the framework of Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*, I will look at Vergil's presentation of himself as the fully-fledged poet. Bloom presents a study of author-to-influence relationship and sees an ever-present Oedipal paranoia attending each new poetic creation. Bloom sees a consistently antagonistic relationship between the poet and his precursor father. As a softening of this poetic antagonism, I offer instead the ancient model of the previous poet as a mother, to both provide framework text and nurturing teaching. Vergil shows himself as a model of the poetic journey: showing careful attention to imitation, as discussed in Chapter 1, selection of models, as explored in Chapter 2, and finally the confidence of poetic maturity, where he himself can be used as a model. As a guide for this study, I will follow the character of Menalcas, who is regarded as a representation of Vergil as the poet in the *Eclogues*. Menalcas is constructed to show the cycle of a poet's maturation into a model. In order to access this argumentation, I will first outline Bloom's model of poetic inheritance, then look at how Vergil portrays Menalcas' arc of growth as a poet, from ephebe, to curator, to poetic model, and finally examine the conclusion of the collection and what Vergil has to say about imitation in his new poetics.

In the *Anxiety of Influence,* Bloom presents his study of models of reception and the poetic tradition. Influence is the central question which poetics seek to negotiate. Bloom helpfully returns his audience to the root meaning of influence: to flow in.[124] In response to this flooding, Bloom explains that, "the anxiety of influence is an anxiety in expectation of *being flooded*."[125] Bloom sees a necessary struggle between good poets, which always mandates creative permutation. He says that "poetic influence, when two strong authentic poets are involved, always proceeds by a misreading and creative correction."[126] Bloom focuses his models of reception on the oedipal paranoia of ephebe poet to father. However, I suggest instead to follow a maternal model of reception, emphasizing a positive imitation, starting from a place of nurture.

I select from Bloom a helpful image of how poetic influence is made apparent in the poet's work. Bloom illustrates an important relationship of influence, one that he styles as "Apophrades." In this relationship, the poet's work so closely aligns with the precursor's that the roles seem to be reversed. Bloom explains, "for all of them achieve a style that captures and oddly retains priority over their precursors, so that the tyranny of time is almost overturned, and one can believe, for startled moments, that they are being *imitated by their ancestors*."[127] This model of Apophrades pairs nicely with the method of imitation practiced by the ancients.[128] In the previously discussed passage of *Eclogue* 8, Vergil's maternal model of poetic influence fits as a counterpoint to Apophrades

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[124] See Bloom, 26.
[125] Ibid 57.
[126] Ibid, 30.
[127] Ibid, 141.
[128] See Arkins, 291. Arkins discusses Roman reception of Callimachus in the context of Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*. Arkins focuses on the examples of Catullus and Propertius, explaining how each reception is so carefully wrought to seem as though Callimachus is the imitator.

(Vergil, *Eclogues*, 8.47-50). Matrilineal poetics instantiates the new poet as the continuation and completion of the old. New life from the mother fully subsumes the idea of return from the dead. The mother poet provides an example for the young poet to imitate, and by nature the new poet will grow into the mother role, continuing the cycle. However, Bloom cautions that the parent poet is never really gone from the picture. He warns, "The mighty dead return, but they return in our colors, and speaking in our voices, at least in moments, moments that testify to our own persistence, and not to their own. If they return wholly in their own strength, then the triumph is theirs."[129] The new poet must negotiate a voice within the tradition, with the characteristics of the mother, but also with enough persona so that the cycle can be repeated.

With a maternal model of Apophrades in mind, Menalcas' cycle of poetic growth can be examined. Menalcas begins the *Eclogues* as an ephebe and progresses to confident authorship. In the *Eclogues*, Menalcas is generally regarded as a representative of Vergil himself as a poet.[130] Most tangibly, Menalcas is associated with Vergil in *Eclogue* 9 because of the mention of Vergil's hometown, Mantua. Moeris sings one of Menalcas' songs, *superet modo Mantua nobis, / Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae*, "let Mantua survive for us in this way, Mantua alas for you, too near miserable Cremona" (Vergil, 9.27-8). Scholars receive this mention as conclusive

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[129] See Bloom, 141.

[130] See Hunter,, 126-7. Hunter comments on this tradition in bucolics: "there is at least no reason to think that the predominant view of ancient scholarship (and of the author of the Syrinx) that the speaker of Idyll 7 is Theocritus, there called Simichidas for some reason (which was indeed the object of dispute), was not known to, and perhaps shared by, Virgil; the Roman poet was thus all but certainly familiar with a tradition of bucolic interpretation in which the poet referred to himself by other names and put his 'real life' experiences into his poetry."

evidence of Menalcas as being a portrait of Vergil.[131] Biographical allegory was originally the main mode of interpretation of the *Eclogues*, beginning from the commentary of Servius. I agree with the stance of Menalcas as representative of Vergil, but I will pursue this characterization from a literary rather than historical allegory.

Pushing into the literary landscape, Menalcas has a more concrete connection to Vergil's authorial persona. Menalcas shows up in key programmatic places of the *Eclogues*, connected with the authorship of Vergil. In *Eclogue* 5, Menalcas offers to sing songs, suggesting, "*Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexim," haec eadem docuit, "Cuium pecus, an Meliboei?* "'Corydon was burning for beautiful Alexis,' this same (reed) taught, 'Whose flock is this, or is it Meliboeus'?'" (Vergil, 5.86-7). These songs are word for word transcriptions of the opening lines of *Eclogues* 2 & 3. Menalcas treats the *Eclogues* as pieces of already existent poetic repertoire. In *Eclogue* 3, Menalcas himself sings the opening line, but he is not the canonical singer of *Eclogue* 2. However, he claims both of these songs as his own. By having Menalcas quote the *Eclogues* as his own familiar poems, Vergil appears to consciously associate himself with the character of Menalcas. Vergil pulls back the curtain on the process of handing down the poetic tradition. By using this piece of self-allusion, Vergil positions himself as a poet with as much authority in this tradition as any other he may have chosen to quote.

Further, in *Eclogue* 3, Menalcas describes his gift to his lover, Amyntas, saying, *Quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta / aurea mala decem misi: cras altera mittam*, "I have sent ten golden apples, selected from a woodsy tree, all that I could for my boy:

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[131] See Virgil, and H. Rushton Fairclough. *Virgil / with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough*. Heinemann, 1930, 65. The Loeb editor explains, "The ninth *Eclogue* is purely personal, and it has to do with the same subject as the first. Perhaps it is a poetical appeal to Varus for assistance. Under the person of Menalcas, Vergil himself is concealed."

tomorrow I will send another set" (Vergil, 3.70-1). As previously discussed in Chapter 1, this couplet is steeped in programmatic terms for the construction of the *Eclogues*. Vergil uses terms like *silva* and *lectus*, which highlight the self-consciousness of the *Eclogues* as a text.[132] With the ten selected apples, Vergil metaphorically represents the *Eclogues* collection. Menalcas is the author of this gift, and by positioning him in this role, Vergil presents him as a representative of himself.

The substance of the gifted apples is important for understanding the Vergillian program. These apples are linked with the apples of Acontius and Cydippe and thus Vergil aligns himself with the light and elegant poetic style of Callimachus.[133] In my previous analysis in Chapter 1, I examine how Amyntas is representative of Callimachean poetics. Continuing this analysis, I will look at the dynamic of Menalcas and Amyntas' relationship and what this means metapoetically for the *Eclogues*. Menalcas gives a gift to his lover, Amyntas, that is in alignment with Callimachean poetics. By doing this, Menalcas styles himself as the imitator, selecting the best and most learned poetics to build his style upon. Menalcas describes his somewhat fretful relationship with Amyntas; *quid prodest quod me ipse animo non spernis, Amynta, / si dum tu sectaris apros, ego retia servo?* "what benefit is it to me, Amyntas, that you do not spurn me in your mind, if while you hunt the wild boar, I guard the nets?" (Vergil, 3.74-5). Positioned in a common elegiac atmosphere, Amyntas sets the tone of what Menalcas does, as he performs complex ancillary tasks. Amyntas leads the situation and Menlacas follows. I return to my introductory frame text in *Eclogue* 8 to help interrogate

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[132] For more complete analysis see Chapter 1, p. 27.
[133] See Callimachus, *Aetia*, fr. 75b.25.

this dynamic: *saevus Amor docuit*, "savage Love teaches," (Vergil, 8.47). For Vergilian poetics, even a polemic, agonistic love will teach and nurture. Vergil shows his process as a maturing poet, being nurtured by his relationship to Callimachean poetics. However, as all relationships of poetic influence are not without a consciousness of competition, Vergil importantly specifies that *Amor* can be *saevus* and at the same time still a relationship of teaching and nurturing.

Throughout the *Eclogues*, Menalcas grows as a model poet figure, and his relationship with Amyntas becomes less defining as a characteristic. In *Eclogue* 5, Amyntas is not identified as Menalcas' lover, but rather just as a rival of Mopsus. However, Menalcas does still assume characteristics from Amyntas. Menalcas says that, *montibus in nostris solus tibi certat Amyntas*, "Amyntas alone contends with you in our mountains" (Vergil, 5.8). For Amyntas, this position of the mountains is important, suggesting the venue of Callimachus.[134] Here Vergil displays attentiveness to the Alexandrian tradition of inspiration from the Muses upon a mountain, which Callimachus receives from Hesiod.[135] However, as well as Amyntas, Vergil situates Menalcas in the grove as well, as he says, *montibus in nostris*, "in *our* mountains." By claiming these mountains, Vergil claims for Menalcas a place in the poetic tradition. Since making a portrait of himself in Menalcas, Vergil colors his own poetic persona with this Alexandrian association, ultimately appropriating the skill and authority of Callimachus to himself. The poetics of Callimachus are a positive force for Menalcas, something that propels him forward into firstly skill, and then confident maturation as a poet.

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[134] See Hunter, 16-18.
[135] Ibid, 17.

When Menalcas next appears in *Eclogue* 9, he is independent of Amyntas who does not appear at all in the poem. In *Eclogue* 10, both Menalcas and Amyntas return, but they stand separate from each other, and do not interact. Menalcas is mentioned briefly and not in connection with Amyntas as he performs daily pastoral tasks, *uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas* "Menalcas comes soaked from winter acorns" (Vergil, 10.20). Gallus sings about love for Amyntas as an important pastoral trope to cover: *atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuissem /aut custos gregis aut maturae vinitor uvae! / certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas / seu quicumque furor*… "and if only I had been one of you, and the shepherd of your flock or the attendant of your ripened grapes! Certainly whether my love is for Phyllis or Amyntas or whatever other passion…" (Vergil, 10.35-8). Amyntas was once the model for Menalcas to follow, but here Vergil presents him almost as a poetic topos. Gallus song topics summarize the characteristics of pastoral poetry. Gallus reinforces the metaliterary significance of these lovers as he says, *serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas*, Phyllis would choose a wreath for me, Amyntas would sing," (Vergil, 10.41). Vergil carefully uses programmatic words to underscore this point. He reminds the reader that the *Eclogues* are selections to read with the use of *legeret*. The wreath represents poetic glory, and Amyntas singing reinforces the atmosphere of poetics.[136]

Recalling Bloom's relationship of Apophrades, Vergil turns Amyntas into the ephebe in order to emphasize Menalcas' maturation as a poet. Vergil completes this role-reversal in his description of Amyntas: *quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas? / et nigrae violae sunt et vaccina nigra,* "what then, if Amyntas is dark? Both the violets and the

[136] It is also important to remember how important *cano* is for later Vergilian poetics. Vergil uses this word for his summary of his project in the *Aeneid*, (Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1.1).

blueberries are dark," (Vergil, 10.38-9).[137] While this couplet has much previously discussed metaliterary significance, I also offer Menalcas as a key to interpreting Amyntas. In *Eclogue* 2, Menalcas shows up briefly while Corydon sings to Alexis, *nonne Menalcan, / quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses? / o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori: / alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.* "Or even Menalcas, although he was dark and you were fair? O beautiful boy, do not trust too much to color: the white shrubs fall, the dark hyacinths are chosen" (Vergil, 2.15-18). Vergil assigns Amyntas the description given to Menalcas, with the association of the dark hyacinths.[138] Amyntas completes Bloom's cycle of the precursor poet, as he is subsumed into the description of the ephebe. On the metapoetic scale, Vergil has already shown how he is nurtured and trained by Callimachean poetics so that he can then assimilate them into his own poetic program. With this intentionally transparent display of workmanship, Vergil reminds his audience that he is the author, who has confidently reached poetic maturation so that he can use his influences as writing material. Recalling again the etymological origin of material, *mater*, shows a matrilineal tradition of poetic

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[137] Cf. Asclepiades 5.3-4, Theocritus 10.28, and Longus 1.16.4.

[138] See T. Keith Dix, Vergil in the Grynean Grove: Two Riddles in the Third Eclogue." *Classical Philology* 90, no. 3 (1995): 256–62. Hyacinths are an important poetic seal for the *Eclogues*. In *Eclogue* 3 Menalcas' last words are a riddle: *Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum / nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto.* "Tell me in which lands flowers grow, inscribed with the names of kings, and you alone shall have Phyllis" (Vergil, 3.116-7). It seems evident that Vergil is speaking about hyacinths as the inscribed flowers, as Dix explains, "the words 'flowers inscribed with the names of kings' point to an obvious aetiology: the story of the hyacinth, which sprang up either upon the accidental death of Hyacinthus, the beloved of Apollo, or upon the suicide of Telamonian Ajax. The flower consequently bore its leaves markings that ancient authors, at least, could read as the letter upsilon from the name Hyacinthus, or the letters alpha iota from αιαῖ, the cry of woe, or from the name Αἴας. Both Hyacinthus and Ajax, Servius explains, were the sons of kings. Menalcas himself has already mentioned the suave rubens hyacinthus, 'the sweetly blushing hyacinth,' and the laurel as appropriate gifts to Apollo (62-63)" (Dix, 257).

influence. Menalcas shows Vergil's flexibility to confidently assimilate poetic influence into his own poetic program.

Vergil constructs Menalcas to show the cycle of a new poet's maturation into a model. When Vergil first introduces Menalcas in *Eclogue* 3, he is portrayed as a new ephebe, trying to get a foothold in the sphere of influence. Menalcas is vying with Damoetas as an opponent in a singing contest. Menalcas criticizes Damoetas: *non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas / stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?* "Weren't you, you unlearned man, accustomed to destroy a miserable song on your squeaky straw at the crossroads?" (Vergil, 3.26-7). Highlighting the importance of the poetic tradition, Menalcas insults Damoetas by portraying him as *indoctus*, not being taught.[139] Damoetas has not learned poetics, which thus makes him the destroyer of the songs he sings. Vergil models Menalcas' taunting after Theocritus: τὰν ποίαν σύριγγα; τὺ γάρ ποκα, δῶλε Σιβύρτα, /ἐκτάσω σύριγγα; τί δ' οὐκέτι σὺν Κορύδωνι / ἀρκεῖ τοι καλάμας αὐλὸν ποππύσδεν ἔχοντι; "What pipe was that? For have you, the slave of Sibyrtas, at some time procured for yourself a pipe? But why are you no longer content to mangle the oaten flute with Corydon?" (Theocritus, 5.6-7). Menalcas proves his worth as a poet by showing his literary awareness in the adaptation of this line.[140] But, Menalcas takes these poetics a step beyond and uses this adaptation even more agonistically than the original context.

However, in this stage of early poetics, Menalcas also is portrayed with the anxiety of a new poet, trying to claim a voice for himself. Damoetas says that Menalcas,

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[139] See Clausen, 97. This word is regularly found in Plautus, but appears nowhere else in Vergil's corpus.
[140] Ibid, 97-8. Vergil shows a deep attentiveness to Theocritus, even representing a contrasting difference in the fistula (3.25) and the stipula (3.27), mimicking Theocritus' contrast of the σύριγγα and the καλάμας, (Theocritus, 5.5-7).

Aut hic ad veteres fagos, cum Daphnidis arcum / fregisti et calamos: quae tu, perverse Menalca, / et cum vidisti puero donata, dolebas, / et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses, "or here towards the old beeches, when you broke Daphnis' bow and reeds: which you, perverse Menalcas, when you saw them given to the boy, if you had not hurt something, you would have died" (Vergil, 3.12-5). Ostensibly Damoetas speaks of Daphnis' bow and arrows, but these objects have greater poetic significance. The bow is symbolic of Apollo, whose poetic authority is later claimed by Menalcas (Vergil, 3.63-4). The *calamos* are metonymically arrows, however, this choice of word is also colored by the sense of the pastoral instrument, so it makes sense that poetic glory is at stake here. The *fagos* returns the audience to the opening of *Eclogue* 1: *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*… "O Tityrus, you, reclining under the shade of a sprawling beech tree…" (Vergil, 1.1). Henkel reminds the attentive reader that the *fagus* is associated with the φηγοι of Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe.[141] Menalcas appears in the shadows of Callimachus, as a place of arbitration of poetics. However, it is important that the quarrel here is with Daphnis, who is a key figure for Theocritus, appearing through the *Idylls*, but most memorably in the programmatic lament of *Idyll* 1.

Menalcas competes with the shadow of Theocritus in *Eclogue* 5, again revealing his Vergilian character. In the song exchange of Menalcas and Mopsus, the poetry of Mopsus is consistently modeled on Theocritus.[142] Clausen describes the difference between Menalcas' style and Mopsus' imitation of Theocritus, saying, "Mopsus wishes to be like Theocritus and therefore borrows from him, while Menalcas transforms the

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[141] See Henkel, 32.

[142] Cf. Vergil, 5.44-45 and Theocritus *Idylls*, 1.120-1 for an example of this close imitation.

little that he borrows."[143] Menalcas's poetry is significantly less Theocritean in this *Eclogue*, while maintaining a high degree of Alexandrian elegance. Guy Lee has concluded that Vergil sets up the difficult and virtuosic constructions in order to provide a metric by which Menalcas can prove himself the master poet in this song exchange.[144] Menalcas distinguishes himself from Mopsus by not exclusively focusing on Greek models.

In the song of Menalcas, Lucretian poetics play a significant role in the content of Menalcas' poetry. At the very beginning of his song for Daphnis, Menalcas sings, *Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi, sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis. / ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas, / Panaque pastores tenet…*"Shining he marvels at the unfamiliar doorstep of Olympus and underneath his feet Daphnis sees the clouds and the stars. Therefore, a lively delight holds the woods and the rest of the countryside and Pan and the shepherds…" (Vergil, 5.56-58). This opening refers the audience to Lucretius' description of Epicurus, saying, *…nec tellus obstat quin omnia dispiciantur/ sub pedibus quaecumque infra per inane geruntur. / his ibi me rebus quaedam divina voluptas / percipit…* "...whatever goes on beneath our feet in the void.

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[143] See Clausen, 153.

[144] See Guy Lee, "A Reading of Virgil's Fifth Eclogue." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, no. 23 (203), 1977. Lee's exploration of poetic dynamics in *Eclogue* 5 finds Mopsus to be a younger shepherd and Menalcas as his teacher, which accounts nicely for Mopsus' more studious imitation of the Greek models. Lee argues that Vergil intentionally crafts Menalcas' rhetoric to be stronger than Mopsus'. Lee analyzes the technical quality of rhetoric of both the shepherds by using the metric of the line which Menalcas claims to be the standard by which to judge his work. This line uses two difficult metrical constructions. Lee unpacks the significance of this technical ability, saying, "A man therefore who claims to be good at the Latin pastoral hexameter can be expected to be aware of these two Greek characteristics and to get them into his Latin line, at least occasionally. How then do Menalcas and Mopsus show up from this point of view? The figures are quite striking. Menalcas speaks 47 lines in all; of these no less than 25 contain one or both of these two features. Mopsus speaks 43 lines; of these only 10 contain one or other feature, and none contains both. The conclusion is undeniable: Menalcas' claim is justified," (Lee, 68)"

There, away from these things a certain divine pleasure possesses me…" (Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 3.26-28). With this choice of passage, Vergil equates Daphnis' apotheosis with Epicurus' glorified opening of the mysteries of Epicurean philosophy.[145] Menalcas says about Daphnis that, *ipsae iam carmina rupes, / ipsa sonant arbusta: 'deus, deus ille, Menalca!'* "the very cliffs and orchards themselves now resound: 'he was a god, a god, Menalcas!'" (Vergil, 5.63-5). This line consciously refers to Lucretius' description of Epicurus, *deus ille fuit, deus,* "he was a god, a god" (Lucretius, 5.8). In addition to the direct intertext, Menaclas also weaves in a mention of an echo, *sonant*, which is an important Lucretian concept that is conspicuously absent from the world of Theocritus, so this is an advance of the pastoral landscape.[146] Menalcas takes the Theocritean pastoral situation and with the aid of didactic Lucretian language transforms it into something more nuanced in character. While it may be obvious, it is also worth noting that Lucretius was writing after the Alexandrian era in the time of the Roman republic, shortly before Vergil. Because of his position in time, Vergil has access to a greater variety of models and styles to weave together in the *Eclogues*. For Menalcas, the genius of his poetry lies in the apt selecting of models, a quality which I posit refers back to the titular substance of the *Eclogues* themselves, reflecting the poetic project of Vergil.

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[145] See Suzanne Mizera, "Lucretian Elements in Menalcas' Song, 'Eclogue' 5," *Hermes* 110, no. 3 (1982): 367–71. Mizera discusses many allusions to Lucretius in Menalcas's speech. Mizera pays attention to this allusion specifically as a double allusion to both Homer and Lucretius. Menalcas uses *limen Olympi* to recall *Iliad* 1.591, but specifically as an allusion to an allusion, referencing *Odyssey* 6.42-47, Lucretius' model for the opening of Book 3. Menalcas consistently demonstrates a multiplicity of models in his poetry.

[146] See George C. Paraskeviotis, "The Echo in Vergilian Pastoral" *L'Antiquité Classique* 85 (2016): 45–64. Paraskeviotis analyzes Vergil's use of the echo within the *Eclogues* as a motif which is not present at all in the world of Theocritus and referential to Lucretius. The echo shows up multiple times in the *Eclogues* and is manifest in both literal and as well as metaliterary ways.

In *Eclogue* 5, Menalcas is portrayed as the poet in the curating stage of poetry; he selects a variety of models so that his poetry becomes not just erudite, but new in character.

In *Eclogue* 9, Vergil completes the cycle of the poet and model in Menalcas. *Eclogue* 9 shows the process of poetic reception, signaling this focus by beginning with the question: *Quo te, Moeri, pedes?* Where do your feet take you, Moeris" (Vergil, 9.1) modeled after Theocritus, Σιμιχίδα, πᾷ δὴ τὸ μεσαμέριον πόδας ἕλκεις, "Simichidas, where do your feet lead you in this middle of this day? (Theocritus, 7.21).[147] However, *Eclogue* 9 deals with the ruins of poetic influence, showing what happens when this process is unraveling. Lycidas describes this situation, saying, *usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos / omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan*, "and up to the water and the old beeches, with their tops now broken, Menalcas preserved all of you with his songs" (Vergil, 9.9-10). Lycidas portrays a jagged landscape, with pieces of it fractured. Menalcas performs the role of receiving the pastoral scene and being established as a master poet. Vergil consistently positions Menalcas under the shade of the *fagus*, recalling Callimachean influence.[148] However, this time, the *fagus* is broken and Menalcas is in charge of the pastoral landscape with his own poetry. The songs of Menalcas claim a legacy of poetic glory as *cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni,* "the singing swans lift [Varus' name] up high into the stars" (Vergil, 9.29). The ascent to the stars as the manifestation of poetic glory has long been an important trope.[149] However, the song of Menalcas makes this claim more specific by also

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[147] See Clausen, 269.

[148] See Henkel, 32. The *fagus* is representative of the φηγοι of Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe.

[149] The ascent to the stars has long been an important phrase. Notably Odysseuss claims: καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει, "My glory reaches even to the heavens" (Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.20). Poets have since used the language of ascent to the stars as an emblem of poetic glory.

referencing Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, ὁσσάκι κύκνοι ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσιν ἄεισαν…αὐτίκα δ' αἰθήρ / χάλκεος ἀντήχησε διαπρυσίην ὀλολυγήν, as many swans sang for his birth … and again the bronze air resounded their piercing cry (Callimachus, *Hymns*, 4.254-8). Menalcas' song uses the language of glorification of Apollo's birth and shifts it into lament. This follows the pattern of confidence of influence; Vergil innovates upon the form given by his model.

Eclogue 9 meditates on the absence of the master poet. Moeris says, *Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque; saepe ego longos / cantando puerum memini me condere soles: / nunc oblita mihi tot carmina:* Time takes away everything, even memory; often I remember as a boy I spent long sunny days with singing: now all my songs are destroyed" (Vergil, 9.51-3). Ironically, this lament for memory has a very conscious model:

> Εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ
> ἤγαγεν· ἐμνήσθην δ' ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι
> ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που,
> ξεῖν' Ἁλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή,
> αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ᾗσιν ὁ πάντων
> ἁρπακτὴς Ἅΐδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.
>
> "Someone, Heraclitus, mentioned your fate, and it brought me to tears. I remembered how often the two of us brought down the sun with our talking. But you, my Halicarnassian friend, are, I guess, ashes four ages old. But your nightingales are alive: Hades which snatches everything will not place his hand upon them" (Callimachus, *Epigrams*, 2).[150]

In the highly constructed atmosphere of the *Eclogues*, poetic persona and personhood are conflated, which is made apparent in this choice of allusion. Hunter explains: "In

[150] Trans, Hunter, 133.

Callimachus, the poet is long gone, but the poems are immortal; in the world of pastoral, however, there is no life for poetry without the poet. As Virgil had given Callimachus a place at the beginning of pastoral (Ecl. 6.3–5...), so he gives him a place at its demise."[151] In the absence of the master, the ephebes must reconstruct influence into a new vision of poetics. The songs of Menalcas demonstrate this process. Moeris discusses the frailty of this position: *sed carmina tantum / nostra ualent, Lycida, tela inter Martia / quantum Chaonias dicunt aquila ueniente columbas*, "But, Lycidas, our songs prevail amidst the weapons of Mars as much as they say Chaonian doves do at the eagle's arrival," (Vergil, 9.11-13). This simile is transformed from its Greek origins to something uniquely Roman in character, fully cementing Vergil's place in the poetic tradition.[152] Menalcas' songs subvert previous tradition, while using it as a canvas for his poetics.

Menalcas appears fully actualized as a master poet and becomes fused with his work. Lycidas laments for Menalcas, saying, *heu, tua nobis paene simul tecum solacia rapta, Menalca? quis caneret Nymphas?* "Alas, was the solace of your [songs] torn away from us at the same time as you, Menalcas? Who would sing the Muses now?" (Vergil,

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[151] Ibid, 133.

[152] Ibid, 122-3. He explains, "The powerlessness of (pastoral) poetry is here expressed through a form of comparison which evokes the epic simile, a touchstone – as we have seen – of poetic art, but one trapped in a world where art has no 'muscle'; *dicunt* marks not so much the proverbial content of the comparison as its affiliations to earlier poetry. The eagle, which replaces the hawk of most 'dove similes', suggests the eagle of the Roman legions, here swooping down on specifically Greek doves; the point is reinforced by the opposition between the Roman god Mars and the 'Greek' epithet Chaonias. Chaonia was an area of northern Epirus, and the doves of the famous oracle at Dodona, which was in Epirus (though south of Chaonia), uttered prophecies of Zeus; as many critics have noted, these Greek doves thus have a particular association with *carmina*."

9.18-19). Here Menalcas is separated from his music, but as the song exchange continues, the other herdsman try to restore him by means of his poetry. Lycidas and Moeris must imitate Menalcas in order to maintain connection. The objective becomes one of poetic memory.[153] Trying to recall one of Menalcas' songs, Moeris frames this issue: *Id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipse voluto, si valeam meminisse; neque est ignobile carmen*, "Certainly I'm doing this, Lycidas, and silently I am turning it over in my own mind, if I am able to remember: it is no ignoble song" (Vergil, 9.37-8). Poetic memory is the issue of this dialogue and as such, in the absence of Menalcas, Moeris must dialogue with his own memory to draw out the song. Moeris emphasizes the referential nature of poetics. He explains his relationship to Menalcas' poetry, saying, *nunc oblita mihi tot carmina: vox quoque Moerin /iam fugit ipsa; lupi Moerin videre priores. / sed tamen ista satis referet tibi saepe Menalcas*, "now all my songs are entirely forgotten: and even the voice itself flees Moeris; the ancient wolves have seen Moeris. But nevertheless Menalcas will repeat those [songs] for you often enough," (Vergil, 9.53-5). Here again, the echo of the precursor poet is stressed, as Moeris must rely on memory in order to generate poetry. Menalcas' songs are the canvas upon which new poetry is worked out. He completes the cycle of the poet as he is designated as the master poet. Moeris finishes the dialogue with this pronouncement: *Desine plura, puer, et quod nunc instat agamus; / carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus,* "Say no more, boy, but

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[153] See Thomas Hubbard, "Allusive Artistry and Vergil's Revisionary Program: Eclogues 1-3." *Materiali e Discussioni per l'analisi Dei Testi Classici*, no. 34 (1995): 37-67. Hubbard takes the position that the entire Eclogue collection builds towards this goal. He explains: "The program of the *Eclogues* is not so much one of selecting different allusice foci as a reflection of Vergil's progressive self-realization as a poet, expressed through his evolving allusive relationship with his literary predecessors, who are most dominant as a personal presence in the first poems of the Book, and progressively less so as the Book unfolds, transforming them into a recessive background of poetic memory" (Hubbard, 40).

let us do what is imminent; then we will sing the songs better, when the master himself has come," (Vergil, 9.66-7). Vergil shows the completed progression of poetic mastery in Menalcas, as his presence becomes the new model of poetics. Lycidas and Moeris work out their anxiety under the shadow of Menalcas' influence. While there is a professed self-abasement in how deferentially the new poets speak of Menalcas, his work provides the material which they curate into this song exchange. The titular operation of the *Eclogues* is selection, which Menalcas models for the *Eclogues* collection. Menalcas' poetry is the material which nurtures the new poets into their own performance. The success of their songs is dependent on how well they imitate Menalcas' style.

In the world of the *Eclogues*, the success of a poet is in how well the precursor's poetry is imitated and then assimilated. However, Vergilian poetics are not so neatly relegated to only being a study of models. Concluding the collection, Vergil warns: *surgamus: solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra, iuniperi gravis umbra, nocent et frugibus umbrae,* "Let us rise: the shade is often hurtful to the singers, the shade is often hurtful to the juniper bush, and shades even harm the fruit" (Vergil, 10.75-6). In Vergilian poetics, *umbra* represents poetic influence.[154] While the master poet must be attentive to prior models, he cannot remain a student forever. Bloom speaks to this poetic anxiety, explaining, "Weaker talents idealize; figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves. But nothing is got for nothing, and self appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness, for what strong maker desires the realization that he has failed to create himself?"[155] This anxiety can only be alleviated by fully embodied poetics.

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[154] See Henkel, 34.
[155] See Bloom, 5.

Through the *Eclogues* collection, Vergil models the process of selecting poetic influence and then assimilating these influences into a cohesive new style of poetics. Vergil subsumes all his influences so that he might be their heir in the poetic tradition. By the end of this process, Vergil shows himself to be the fully fledged poet. In this final instruction, I suggest that Vergil prescribes that the poet rise so that he can cast his own shadow. I read *surgamus* as the antithesis of the opening of *Eclogue* 1: *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*… "O Tityrus, you, reclining under the shade of a sprawling beech tree…" (Vergil, 1.1). After having been nurtured in the shade of poetic influence, Vergil himself rises from the *locus amoenus* to cast his own shadows.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Vergil proves his craftsmanship through the project of the *Eclogues*. In this collection, Vergil has set up a metaliterary model for the cycle of poetic confidence. The good poet imitates the *Aemulus* in order to instantiate himself as a poet. The ephebe learns poetics through imitation, then transitions to fluency by judging between multiple models, and then finally stands mature as a new model to be imitated by future ephebes. Briefly revisiting my analysis from the chapters, the steps of the argument follow the cycle of poetic maturity. In Chapter 1, I discuss how Vergil positions Amyntas as a character embodying Callimachean poetics. Vergil displays a conscious imitation of Callimachean poetics, assimilating this style of poetics into his poetic landscape of the *Eclogues*. In Chapter 2, I examine how Vergil shows his practiced selection in dialogue with the scholiasts. Vergil rescues the orphaned pastoral from the stepmotherly criticism of the literary scholars. The conversation of models is more nuanced than simply a dialogue from poet to poet. In Chapter 3, I follow how Vergil presents Menalcas as a metaliterary model for his own poetic journey to maturity. Vergil identifies with the stages of poetic development, starting with imitation, moving to curation, and finally growing into the role of a model. While the poetic *Aemuli* are important to Vergil's development, they all become subsumed into the material with which Vergil creates the *Eclogues*. Vergil assimilates all of his varied models by an expansion of genre. Vergil inherits bucolics as a genre and turns it into something new.

I read these ideas in dialogue with Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*. Bloom has many profitable things to say about poetic inheritance. However, I take issue with Bloom's focus on the oedipal paranoia of son to poetic father, which is the binding thread of his argument. Bloom explains the relationship of influence, saying "The strong poet fails to beget himself—he must wait for his Son, who will define him even as he has defined his own Poetic Father. To beget here means to usurp, and is the dialectical labor of the Cherub."[156] I propose that Bloom's focus on the father relationship is too narrow, and as such it does not provide a sufficient lens to examine the relationship between Vergil and his models. I argue that analysis of the *Eclogues* profits from more dynamic modeling. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil absorbs material from many sources, which he spins into poetics. A careful textual reading reveals that Vergil sets up his influences in other roles: the mother, the lover, the stepmother, the teacher, the rival, the friend. These relationships provide more specific and exact ways to describe the poet's relationship to the *Aemulus*. This reading allows for a softening of poetic antagonism, and a more healthy competition which ultimately advances poetics.

In this thesis, I demonstrated the usefulness of a dynamic modeling of influence. In the future, this project might inform a more comprehensive study of modeling in the Vergilian corpus more generally. The previously discussed tripartite cycle of poetic growth seems uniquely suited to Vergilian studies, as there seems a clear path to comparison with the *rota Vergiliana*, Vergil's poetic course through bucolics, didactic,

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[156] See Bloom, 37. The Cherub is Bloom's marker of poetic anxiety. He explains, "...the Cherub is creative anxiety...The Covering Cherub then is a demon of continuity; his baleful charm imprisons the present in the past, and reduces a world of differences into a grayness of uniformity" (Bloom, 36-39).

and heroic.[157] In antiquity, tripartite definition of literature is very important. As Breed points out "In book 3 of the *Republic* Plato has Socrates draw a distinction between presentation by means of straight narrative (*haple diegesis*), character speech (*mimesis*), and a mixed mode that combines the other two...The Greek scholiasts deem that bucolic particularly invites the blending of the three Platonic models as a contribution to the *poikilia*, 'variety' that is for them the defining feature of the genre."[158] Even though Plato narrowly describes the formal characteristic of *epos* as the third mode, pastoral is able to inhabit any of these modes, and the *Eclogues* has examples in all three.[159] The *Eclogues* demonstrate the elasticity of *epos* as a genre. All three parts of the *rota* are examples of *epos*, and *epos* remains unified as a genre because of its meter.

Vergil begins his authorial *cursus* with pastoral and incorporates a variety of models into pastoral's formal characteristic of variety. Vergil continues his interest in models in his later works as well. Analyzing the *Georgics*, Joseph Farell presents the schema of Book 1 modeled after Hesiod and Aratus, Books 2 & 3 after Lucretius, and Book 4 after Homer. Certainly, the *Aeneid* is also heavily interested in models, dialoguing with Homer and the Hellenistic poets as well.[160] With each completed work Vergil establishes himself more firmly in the canon and provides material for him to later

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[157] See Van Sickle, 102-104. Van Sickle explains that a tripartite hierarchy was already well entrenched in literary history and rhetoric before Vergil's time, as identified by Theophrastus's discussion of rhetoric, or Plato's *Phaedrus'* description of the speeches of 'Lysias', 'Phaedrus', and 'Stesichorus'. However, the Alexandrian poets do not dwell in the tripartite space, but rather generally in a binary contrast between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry.

[158] See Breed, 6. Breed explains the background of this correlation: "Although the three categories are correlated in the Republic to genres (dithyramb, drama, and epic), this scheme was adopted in antiquity into the criticism of Greek bucolic poetry. As the inheritor of this tradition, Servius reports its applicability to the *Eclogues*" (Breed, 6).

[159] For example: *Eclogue* 4 speaks in a straight narrative, only in the author's voice, *Eclogue* 5 is a dialogue between characters, and *Eclogue* 6 presents a blend of these two with a narrator's frame text to start the poem.

[160] See Joseph Farell, *Vergil's Georgics and The Traditions of Ancient Epic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

absorb in self-imitation. While the generic differences between the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid* provide foils which invite comparison, in each genre Vergil compounds his influences into generic mastery. Vergil writes all three of his major works as a master poet, and part of his poetic mastery is to show the course of a poet, beginning from the imitations. I would find it helpful to apply this type of analysis to a larger collection of the Vergilian corpus. In every case, Vergil casts a wide net of imitations in order to instantiate a rich new order of poetics.

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